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The Shape of Things

TO THE MULTITUDINOUS INTERPRETATIONS of the Cabinet changes in Moscow we add our own, for what it may be worth. In the replacement of Molotov by Vishinsky and of Mikoyan by a less well-known undersecretary, we see a determination on the part of the Kremlin to alter the status quo in a cold war that grows hotter every day. Without more information on the lengthy debate that, by reliable reports, preceded the change, it would be childish to predict in what direction the Kremlin intends to move. But that something is going to happen, either before the opening of the United Nations Assembly or during it, we consider almost sure. The issues created by the Atlantic Pact call for more than a mere *Pravda* editorial or a pronunciamento by Thorez or Togliatti. They require political action to meet the growing pressure, either through diplomatic retreat or through some new counterattack. The move need not take the form of a march on Finland or Norway, as some Senators have rather rashly anticipated. It could be a diplomatic offensive, possibly better articulated than the present peace offensive: a proposal, for instance, of a new meeting of the Foreign Ministers, accompanied by a concrete program for the settlement of outstanding conflicts. Either possibility would justify a new distribution of functions to place such top executives as Molotov and Mikoyan at Stalin's side and leave the purely diplomatic work to a man like Vishinsky, whose sarcastic tongue is often belied by his elasticity in negotiation. In the final showdown it is not the manners or attitude of Molotov or Vishinsky that will count, but the policy of the Politburo. In any case, two ideas should be avoided as dangerous: first, that the change represents a break in Soviet unity; second, that it reflects a retreat by Stalin on grounds of health or age. There is no sign of the former; and if the latter were the dominating motive, the announcement could have been made two months from now. It is precisely the time chosen for publishing the change that makes it important.

*

MANY WASHINGTON OBSERVERS BELIEVE that James Forrestal would have been dropped from the Cabinet immediately after the election if he had not been the target of extensive criticism. Since, as he announced in his famous three-letter speech, the President will not fire a man under attack, we can only hope that he will not rehire Mr. Forrestal if we express our pleasure at his going. With the international political climate what it is, the Department of National Defense has almost as big a hand in the making of foreign policy as the State Department, and we have never thought it wise to intrust that responsibility to a man on leave from Dillon, Read and Company. With crucial areas of the world under control of our military governments, we have not felt comfortable in their supervision by a man whose background was a compound of cartels and oil. And we have every reason to believe that it was Forrestal who, with former Under Secretary of State Lovett, carried on the running rebellion against the President's policy on Palestine. By way of compensation for these defects, Forrestal is supposed to have been an efficient administrator, but the results are hardly visible. When President Truman first proposed unification of the armed forces, Forrestal led the fight against the plan and was finally invited to draw up his own compromise scheme. Looking at the results last week, the Hoover Commission found the military establishment "perilously close to the weakest type of department." Louis Johnson, for political reasons long regarded as the inevitable successor to Forrestal, has many a headache in store, from the problem of segregation in the armed forces to the conduct of military government in Germany. But it is good to know that with Lovett, Forrestal, and William H. Draper (also a Dillon, Read graduate) all happily retired, the President has gone far to rid his official family of the kind of Wall Street influence he denounced so vehemently during the election campaign.

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AMONG THE WEIGHTY PROBLEMS BEFORE General Clay, probably none is more perplexing than the recommendation he must make concerning the fate of twelve German soldiers condemned to death for their part in the Malmédy massacre. The prisoners were convicted of having shot down in cold blood eighty-three American military prisoners captured in the Battle of the Bulge. In the five reviews of the Malmédy verdicts that have been made to date no question has been raised that German army men did in fact commit this atrocity, but whether these particular defendants are guilty has been rendered doubtful by the circumstances of their trial. If even a small part of the tactics attributed to the prosecution are true, the trials are the foulest blot on

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American army justice since the brutal treatment of the conspirators who were charged with Lincoln's assassination. The full report of the Simpson commission, appointed by Secretary of War Royall to investigate the cases, has not been made public, but the summary released by one of its members makes hair-raising reading. Not only were the defendants punched, kicked, and beaten with rubber hoses, but the most grotesque devices were employed to elicit confessions. According to Judge Van Roden, the commission member, sham trials were first conducted around a black table on which appeared a crucifix, with two candles as the only illumination. After "death sentences" had been imposed, the prisoners, their heads covered with hoods, were urged to confess to save their lives, and the confessions so extorted were used at the formal trials. In one case a bogus priest was employed to urge a prisoner to "sign whatever the investigators ask you to sign," in return for which the priest gave him absolution in advance and the promise of freedom. The massacre of the Bulge was so monstrous a crime that it is unthinkable to let it go unpunished, but a new and decently conducted trial is in order if the conqueror's justice is to have any standing.

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"THEY MUST DIE FOR BEING BLACK." SO READS the headline in a British magazine over an account of the arrest, trial, and conviction of six Negroes in Trenton, New Jersey, for the murder of an elderly white second-hand-furniture dealer. And elsewhere in Europe the "Northern Scottsboro Case" has already been given a notoriety it is just beginning to receive on these shores. For here, fifty miles from Times Square, we seem to have as raw a violation of due process as any below the Mason-Dixon Line. Shortly after William Horner was bludgeoned to death in his store one morning in January, 1948, six Negro suspects were rounded up, apparently at random, by a police force that had recently been criticized for inefficiency. (One of the men was originally picked up on the complaint of his father, whose car he had used without permission. A brother-in-law who went to the police station to see what had happened was also arrested and never released.) All suspects were then "questioned" until they "confessed." This questioning continued, in some cases, for five days and four nights without pause, the police working in relays. The men later stated that they were beaten, threatened, and cajoled during this period; several claim they were given drugged cigarettes and drugged water, and a doctor employed by the city of Trenton has admitted this to be a possibility. Each of the six later produced a sound alibi: one was working in another town at the moment of the crime, another was making a bank deposit, and so on. Yet at the end of a fifty-five day trial, all were convicted of murder and sentenced to death. The left-wing Civil Rights Congress, first to come to the as-

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sistance of the condemned, has retained O. John Rogge, who has begun proceedings on appeal. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is preparing a brief *amicus curiae*. In an early issue we will present a more complete report on the case.

*

THE AUSTRIAN NEGOTIATIONS HAVE NOT escaped the fate of other encounters among the Big Four. Real differences plus purely strategic maneuvers have plunged the London discussions on an Austrian treaty into a new deadlock. For a moment the negotiations seemed to take a favorable course, with Mr. Bebler, the able delegate of Yugoslavia, striking a note of conciliation by renouncing part of Belgrade's previous territorial claims. But his concession was accompanied by a new and explosive suggestion—the granting of complete autonomy to the Slovene population of Carinthia—which Austria, supported by the Western powers, immediately opposed. Russia, on the other hand, placed itself resolutely behind Yugoslavia. It was the second time in recent months that the Western diplomats were misled by expecting a final division in foreign policy between Moscow and Belgrade. In Paris, during last fall's session of the United Nations Assembly, Yugoslavia took Russia's side on every important issue; today Russia is supporting Yugoslavia with the same decision as in the time before the Cominform rift. Over the weekend the United States delegate, Mr. Reber, suggested a compromise. He proposed the introduction in the pending treaty of additional guaranties broadening the educational facilities for minorities, allowing free use of the Slovene language for official and commercial purposes, and equalizing political and civil rights. Hope for a last-minute break in the deadlock increased when Soviet Ambassador Zarubin expressed interest in the points made by Mr. Reber. Any agreement on Austria in London would help to alleviate the gloom created during recent days by the increasing tension on other fronts between Washington and Moscow.

*

A SURPRISING DEVELOPMENT HAS OCCURRED in the FCC proceeding against radio-station owner George A. Richards (See Poison on the Air, by Arthur D. Morse, in *The Nation* of February 12). It will be recalled that the California newscasters had filed a complaint alleging that Richards had ordered his commentators at KMPC, Los Angeles, to slant news in accordance with his private views, which included violent anti-minority prejudices, and that the commission had ordered a preliminary public hearing in Los Angeles on February 21. This date was later advanced to March 16. In a petition to the FCC filed about a week after *The Nation* article appeared, Richards asked for an opportunity to appear before the commission in Washington. He admitted the truth of some of the charges made against him and the wrongfulness of certain of his acts. Promising that these errors would not be repeated, he argued that the Los Angeles hearing would be unnecessary. He pointed out that unfair publicity had been injurious to him, a flattering reference since the press has been generally silent. He also declared that for two decades networks have slanted the news, inferentially asking why he had been singled out for censure. The FCC with but one dissent denied the petition, asserting that the Los Angeles inquiry would give Richards full opportunity to be heard and that many important witnesses who live in that city might be unable to testify in Washington. The commission, to its great credit, has served notice that it will fulfil its responsibility for guarding the public's airwaves. If Richards is found not to have operated in the "public interest, convenience, or necessity," further action to revoke his broadcasting licenses would certainly be in order.

Perverting E. R. P.

IN THE past few weeks Capitol Hill has been haunted by lobbyists whose purpose is to persuade Congress to take care of surpluses of wheat, cotton, coal, oil, machine-tools, and other goods by compelling the Economic Cooperation Administration to buy them whether or not they are what Europe wants. Coal operators complain that they are not able to ship as much to Europe as last year, disregarding the fact that one of the purposes of Marshall aid was to help Europe recover its coal-producing capacity. Machine-tool manufacturers say that European governments have limited purchases for 1948-49 to $55,000,000, though private industries would like to place orders for nearly three times as much. No doubt they would: but to satisfy them the sixteen nations would have to reduce imports of other articles they consider more important.

One suggestion recently put forward is that France should be required to buy more American wheat, even though it normally raises enough to feed itself and would prefer to obtain fertilizer and farm machinery through E. C. A. so that it can fully restore its farming industry. Spokesmen for the wheat interests are also critical because E. C. A. funds are being used to finance British purchases of Canadian wheat. But the fact is that Canadian prices are lower and that the cost of switching wheat purchases to this country would be no less than $88,000,000. Obviously, since Britain's total allotment of Marshall-aid dollars is limited, the consequence would be a reduction of expenditure on other commodities, whose suppliers would cry out in turn. Further, the shortage of United States dollars in Canada would be

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accentuated, and that country would have to take steps to reduce imports of, say, our canned goods, citrus fruits, and machinery. The trouble is that unless Congress is prepared to appropriate enough to buy up all so-called surpluses, many of which are due to over-high prices rather than to over-supply, the gains of one group of producers must be offset by the losses of another.

Apart from this consideration, the whole European Recovery Program will be perverted by any attempt to dictate to the countries receiving aid just what they must buy here. They cannot restore their economic life if we insist that they accept those things we want to get rid of instead of those they most need. The plan was conceived, and is serving, as a general support to American foreign trade, which without it would have slumped alarmingly, in addition to being a means of saving Western Europe from economic and political collapse. But although Senator Ellender of Louisiana has declared that "most of us who voted for this law" expected it would help to dispose of farm gluts, it is difficult to believe that Congress intended it as a "boondoggle" for the benefit of special interests. We hope, therefore, that in extending the act for another year the legislators will resolutely refuse to turn the E. C. A. into a surplus-dumping agency. Any yielding to pressure groups seeking this end can only play into the hands of the Communists, who have always contended that the real purpose of Marshall aid was to compel Europe to become economically subservient to the United States.

Time for a Showdown

IN THE mellow days that followed the Miracle of November 2 President Truman was in an understandably forgiving mood. He had simultaneously thrashed the Republicans, routed the Wallace-led dissidents on the left, and humbled the proud Dixiecrats. He believed that so clear a mandate from the voters would be quickly heeded on Capitol Hill, and that during the expected honeymoon period his Fair Deal would be swiftly and safely launched. Assuming in particular that the Southerners, having been taught a lesson, would require no disciplinary action, he would hear of no efforts to break their control of committees, even though some had logically forfeited their standing as party members. It is obvious now that his policy, whether inspired by magnanimity or strategy, has misfired. As he himself observed at the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner, "campaigns and elections are just preliminary exhibition matches—the fight in Congress is the main bout."

Naturally the slowness of the Eighty-first Congress in producing results has been a source of heavy-handed humor for the Republicans, whose defeat was due in good part to Truman's campaign against the "do-nothing Eightieth Congress." Senator Brewster of Maine gaily invokes Shakespeare to remind the President

> How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is
> To have a thankless child.

What neither Brewster nor any of his colleagues will concede is that the thankless children on the Hill are not the Truman followers but his sworn opponents. It was the Republican contingent in the Senate Labor Committee who insisted on moving slowly, who objected to alleged "railroading" of the Taft-Hartley repealer. It is the Southerners who are now blocking all business in the Senate in their last-ditch fight to preserve the right of a minority in that body to deny the rights of a race. And it is on the Republicans that the Northern Democrats have to depend now to abolish, once and for all, the blight of the filibuster.

On the economic front conservative Southerners are lined up, as always, with their colleagues across the aisle. They are against the proposed 75-cent minimum wage, against federal title to tidelands oil, and certainly against any housing bill that contains anti-discrimination clauses. The supposed turning of the economic tide, moreover, has made it difficult for the President to press his anti-inflation program; the need is still great, but his advisers expect that need to be more obvious as prices head upward again later in the spring.

In view of the Administration's difficulties, it is easy to fall into a pattern of appeasement, to soft-pedal the civil-rights fight in order to get Southern support for other Fair Deal legislation. This appears to be the strategy of Senator Lucas, the Democratic majority leader. But we believe it to be a grave mistake. The conduct of the opposition in the Eighty-first Congress has again given proof, if any were needed, that appeasement will not work. The civil-rights issue—indeed, the whole complex of issues raised by the Dixiecrat drag on the Democratic Party—is up for settlement. Admittedly frontal attack by the Administration can permanently lose the party its entire Dixiecrat following, without which, however, it can still win elections. But evasion and failure can lose it the entire liberal-labor-Negro vote in the North, without which it can only go into oblivion.

The President appears to be awake to the alternatives. He has ordered his party lieutenants to make an all-out fight on the filibuster and has himself come out for cloture by a mere majority rather than by a two-thirds' vote. Knowing the threat to his entire program that such a stand invites, he is talking of going back to the people for support: "I may even get on the train and make another tour around the country to tell the people how their government is getting on." The sooner he does, the better. Unlike his predecessor, Mr. Truman is not good at fireside chats, but give him the rear platform of a train and we should soon get more than rhetoric from Capitol Hill.

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Italy Between Blocs

BY MARIO ROSSI

Rome, February

SFORZA'S consistent aim, from the moment he succeeded the Socialist leader, Pietro Nenni, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has been to lead Italy into the community of Western nations. He believes that only thus can Italy, lying at the crossroads of two blocs and two ideologies, satisfy its need for security.

To most Italians security means to keep out of any war. Well realizing this feeling, both De Gasperi and Sforza have declared repeatedly that the government's policy is not to commit Italy to military alliances but to struggle toward the formation of a European federation. Since Sforza believes that European unity must rest upon the economic interdependence of the nations concerned, he worked out a customs union with France as the basis of a wider entente. That this hope is rather precarious we saw when a small rectification of the frontier between Italy and France, agreed upon by Schuman and Sforza, was unanimously rejected by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French Senate. What is more serious, however, is that even the customs union does not seem to have improved French-Italian economic relations.

It is difficult to see what political advantages Italy can derive from this union. France appears inclined to play the Italian card to threaten England's position in the Mediterranean and to force London to accept its views in the Ruhr controversy. And Sforza has apparently promised to support French claims in the Ruhr if France in turn will support Italy's claim to its former African colonies. But *Il Quotidiano,* organ of Catholic Action, says of this maneuver: "We are entitled to wonder if Italy can gain any advantage from the Anglo-French Ruhr dispute; or if it is France that will profit from the Italo-British controversy over the colonies."

Certainly from the point of view of its relations with England, Italy's pact with France has been a liability. As these lines are written, England is trying to persuade the United States not to include Italy in the Atlantic Pact. According to the United Press, England argues that in case of war Italy would not contribute to the defense of the West but the West would have to come to the defense of Italy. Britain is also determined not to permit the return of the Italian colonies, since they represent vitally important links in the new British Mediterranean and African defense system. Sforza's earnest attempts to obtain an agreement on the issue are unlikely to succeed unless he goes so far as to accept a mere partnership in the administration of the territories in question. He might be willing to do even this, but so far he has been held back by uncompromising conservatives at home who demand "Italy's return to Africa"—without condition. To the groups holding this view De Gasperi owes his victory at the last election.

In discussing Sforza's foreign policy one must consider not only Italy's position but the Vatican's as well. In his Christmas message the Pope spoke of the duty of Christians to resist aggression. In effect he said that if there were a reasonable assurance of victory, the West should defend itself against Russian aggression. But whether he believes that Italy should join in such a war is most doubtful. A civil war, on the heels of a proclamation of war against Russia, would inevitably threaten the Vatican's security and the liberty of the church. The Pope is supposed to have made this point to General Marshall during the latter's visit to Rome. A leading member of Catholic Action, advocating Italy's neutrality in case of war, insisted to me that no advantage would be derived by either party from military control of the peninsula. It is also significant that the left wing of De Gasperi's Christian Democrats is opposed to Sforza's policy and is known to have very close ties with Catholic Action, the Vatican's lay army. This group openly favors neutrality.

The left obviously forms another obstacle to Sforza's plans. Eight million people voted Communist at the last election. Who can guarantee that they will not increase in strength, and perhaps even seize power, if the government adopts a policy of outright union with the West—which the party regards as a war policy? And if war should come, would it not mean a civil war as well? Togliatti's statement leaves little doubt on that point.

The non-Communist left generally supports a policy of neutrality for Italy. Pietro Nenni, who initiated the debate on foreign policy, denied his opponents' charge that his defense of neutrality is an expedient to open the door to a Russian invasion. He argued that his is the traditional Socialist position.

The left-wing Christian Democrats and a number of moderate Socialists are against the Western Union, which they consider a stumbling-block to a unified Europe. And even within his own Republican Party Sforza has opponents. The influential Republican magazine *La Critica Politica* published an article saying: "Any adherence to a military pact will be construed as a hostile act toward the other side, unless it has already threatened aggression. In the present situation we cannot maintain, unless proofs be given, that Russia has aggressively threatened Italy. For this reason we could in no way justify adherence to a military bloc."

Although at the last election the Italians voted for American bread and against communism, one should not assume that they have irrevocably cast their lot with the West. A very cynical people, Italians know that their foreign policy is largely controlled by economic considerations. But above all else they want peace, and they will hesitate a long time before joining any form of union or alliance that commits them in advance to fight the East.

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Two Young Politicians

BY THOMAS SANCTON

Washington, March 4

TWO freshman Senators—Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and Russell Long of Louisiana—spoke for the first time in Congress one afternoon this week. Taken together, their speeches had an irony and coincidence that make them an interesting footnote to history. The subject of one was the projected Missouri Valley Authority, of the other the right of Senators to filibuster. Humphrey's concern was the future of the West; he urged the development of hydroelectric power and soil-reclamation projects to rebuild a declining region. Long's concern was the past of the South; he defended parliamentary obstruction as a means of preserving the political status quo.

Humphrey and Long were fellow-students at the law school of Louisiana State University in the late 1930's and remain fast friends. The student body of that decade set new fashions in collegiate ballyhoo—such as transporting a live tiger in a cage to football games—activities which reflected the flamboyant and aggressive spirit of the man who created the university in his own likeness, the late Senator Huey Long. Last year both men were elected, at the age of thirty-five and twenty-nine respectively, to the upper house.

When they came to Washington, they settled in the Chevy Chase section of Washington—close neighbors, with only one residence between their homes. The signs of their friendship are many in their official life in the Senate. At the recent hearings on the Taft-Hartley amendments before the Labor Committee—where Humphrey wrangled often with Taft and many industry witnesses—Long occasionally was present as a guest, and he beamed with appreciation when Humphrey scored. Long himself is a member of the Rules Committee, which has had before it the rule to tighten restrictions on the filibuster. On one occasion, when the committee voted a week's delay, Long hastened from the hearings to inform Humphrey in the Labor Committee room.

It was politically inept of him to do this, for in the corridors and press galleries where political rumors circulate there were reports that the Administration's civil-rights leaders in the Senate were tending toward an understanding with the Southerners which would delay and perhaps modify civil-rights action in return for unified support for much of the President's economic program. Arthur Krock drew some inference of this sort and in his column in the New York *Times* took Humphrey to task for observing party discipline along with the Southerners in voting down a Republican motion to force the civil-rights issue. Humphrey replied with a long letter repudiating any thought of compromise on the civil-rights proposals and expressing the hope that a rule of cloture by majority vote, instead of by a two-thirds' vote, would be adopted in the Senate.

The measure voted out by the Rules Committee, on which Long sat, was considerably milder. It simply made the existing two-thirds' rule applicable to all forms of debate and discussion instead of only to a "measure"; at present such matters as a motion to bring up a measure or the question of amending the Senate journal are immune to the cloture process. When the committee's new rule reached the Senate, President Truman sent word to Majority Leader Scott Lucas to let the filibuster fight begin and to press it to a decisive conclusion.

Senator Humphrey is by now a well-known figure, but Senator Long is not. In the mind of the general public he is still identified as the son and political heir of Huey Long rather than as a personality in his own right. Liberal groups in Washington hope that he will develop along progressive lines. He seems to be sympathetic to much of the President's economic program, but he has joined vigorously in the fight against the civil-rights proposals. On the floor of the Senate, where he was once a page boy for his father, his manner is a mixture of affability and the self-conscious reserve of a young man following in the footsteps of a father whose exploits are fresh in the memories of men still in the Senate. In 1935 Huey conducted one of the famous filibusters of history.

The Missouri Valley Authority bill was introduced by Senator James E. Murray of Montana. The filibuster had not settled down in the rigid form that it assumed eventually, and interruptions were admitted several times, by agreement, for the presentation of other measures. In addition to Murray, Humphrey and Senator Guy M. Gillette of Iowa made long speeches reviewing the history of the MVA project and urging its necessity for the economic restoration of the ten states of the Missouri basin. As Humphrey neared the end of his talk, Long fidgeted restlessly. He had a page place a copy-holding rack on his desk. He scanned the first few leaves of his speech. Finally Humphrey and the other Western Senators supporting MVA had finished. All had delivered "fighting liberal" talks on the need of public power and soil reclamation and the proved worth of valley authorities. As Long rose, these glowing images of power projects, irrigation dams, and reclaimed land which hung in the air were crowded from the scene by the old tragic unfinished business of the Senate, and the arguments of the filibuster began once more.

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Long first spoke a few words about Humphrey's speech, as a kind of apologia for his own. Referring to the promise of the MVA program, he said he regretted that he could not rise to make his first speech in the Senate on a really constructive measure, as had his "friend and distinguished colleague" from Minnesota. Like the other members of the Southern delegation, he was forced by the civil-rights program to defend the political values he considered paramount; and they had to do this, he said, by the only method that remained to them, the tactic of prolonged and unlimited debate—the filibuster. Then he began the monotonous arguments of the anti-civil-rights position, repeating ideas and figures which had been heard many times before and drawing on material that apparently came from the Senate's filibuster records of the past century.

Thinking of these two youthful politicians whose views were so symbolically divergent upon the issues of the day, I recalled a phrase which had been spoken in more somber circumstances last fall by Whittaker Chambers. When he and Hiss faced each other in public in the "confrontation scene," Chambers said it was not true, as it had been rumored, that he was working out some old grudge against Hiss. "Hiss was my friend," he said, "but we are caught in a tragedy of history."

In the personal sense there is of course no element of tragedy in the juxtaposed careers of Long and Humphrey. But Humphrey's whole political future is tied up with the issues of Western liberalism, and Long's with the interminable and bitter conflict of the Southern race question. The filibuster stems from a tragedy of history—human slavery—and the imprint it has left upon the people and the soil, the institutions and the economy, of the South. The influence of slavery has eroded values in the South just as the flooding Missouri River and the arid winds have impoverished the West. The big Southern reclamation program is long in coming, for there is as yet no influential leadership to fight for it.

China and the "Foreign Devils"

BY ANDREW ROTH

Peiping, February 20

THE attitude of the Chinese Communists toward foreigners and particularly foreign correspondents was made very clear at the great parade and meeting in Peiping on February 12. For hours we watched more than a hundred thousand of the inhabitants and People's Army men march through the city to the historic "Heavenly Peace Gate," which guards the approach to the Forbidden City. Many carried little green, yellow, and pink pennants inscribed with slogans welcoming the liberation army and damning American imperialism and its "running dog," the Kuomintang. When we attempted to follow the crowd to the assembly place, a young parade marshal barred the way for us politely but firmly. Another volunteered, "We have orders to keep out foreign correspondents."

This incident occurred while the virulent campaign against A. P. and U. P. correspondents Spencer Moosa and Michael Keon, to which I referred last week, was in full swing.* A number of items in the reporting of these men could be objected to by the Communists as tendentious. For example, Moosa sent out a story about some students forcing a presumably well-to-do woman wearing a fur coat to walk on all fours like the animal from which the fur had been taken. Almost all the other correspondents had heard this story and discarded it because it had the earmarks of a planted rumor and was not at all typical of the highly disciplined behavior of the Communist troops and political workers in Peiping. Other things for which the Communist News Agency blamed these correspondents were the fault of A. P. and U. P. editors who had "improved" on their copy. But if Moosa and Keon reported unconfirmed rumors as facts, the Communists must blame themselves for having refused to give any interviews to foreign correspondents. Certainly the two men had done nothing bad enough to justify the vituperation which has been heaped on them or the accusation that their writing is part of a conspiracy to smear the new regime. Nor did they deserve to be denied filing privileges and expelled from liberated areas.

If the Chinese Communists want to create a hostile foreign press they are certainly succeeding. Foreign correspondents are a new "untouchable" class here. No responsible official will see them even to tell them how they can leave the area. However, no censorship has been imposed. Representatives of publications friendly to the Communists' reform program are treated just as coldly as those who write for right-wing journals. In fact, a cold shoulder is turned to the entire foreign community.

While the United States bears the main burden of Communist animosity and the U. S. S. R. is considered a

ANDREW ROTH, The Nation's *corrspondent in China, is one of the foreign correspondents in Peiping who have been ordered by the Communists to "cease activities."*

*See Peiping's New Look, by Andrew Roth, *The Nation*, March 5.

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friend, no marked pro-Soviet favoritism is discernible. When local authorities refused to license consular automobiles because the government is not recognized by foreign powers, the Soviet consul general, S. S. Tichvinsky, was the first to be seen riding around in pedicabs. The U. S. S. R. has been very careful not to appear to be supporting the Chinese Communist regime. Mr. Tichvinsky has gone so far as to unscrew the brass nameplates on his establishment to show that Russia has not even consular relations with the new government.

The foreign group which has been treated best is the British business community. Officials of the Kailan mines and the British American Tobacco Company appear to be able to do things which other foreigners cannot manage. They are reaping the benefit of Britain's post-war policy of not interfering in China's internal affairs and of its often proclaimed readiness to do business with the Communists.

Distant as they are, the Communists are extremely "correct" in their treatment of foreigners. Though they are in the midst of a civil war and social revolution in which there has been foreign intervention, they not only do not molest foreigners but seem eager to protect them from harm; apparently they fear Kuomintang agents may attack us in order to smear the Communists.

IT IS difficult to assemble a picture of the Communist attitude toward foreigners from the bits and pieces of their actions, but it is important to try to get an idea of the future foreign policy of the world's most populous nation. At first their refusal to have any official relations with the outside world was generally attributed to their inexperience in foreign affairs and their lack of a trained staff. But it now seems undeniable that they are mobilizing the people's basic nationalism and anti-foreignism. Since foreign powers first established their beachheads, every important popular movement has exploited this widespread feeling—the Taiping rebellion, the Boxer revolt, the overthrow of the Manchus in the 1925-27 revolution, and the Sino-Japanese war. America's considerable support of the Kuomintang regime has enabled the Communists to give their movement the appeal of a nationalist crusade against foreign intervention, and that is even more popular than land reform. That the Chinese Communists take very seriously their new position as leaders of an anti-foreign—chiefly anti-American—crusade can be seen in all sorts of little things. There are quite a few Communist political workers around who can speak English and other foreign languages, but it is being made clear that there isn't going to be any more "toadying" to foreigners by speaking their language or even reading it.

As far as I can see, the foreign policy of the Chinese Communist leaders has one guiding principle—their belief that World War III is inevitable. This conviction is understandable, for the dominant note in American post-war policy toward China has been to view it as an advanced battle front for the next war. In order to hold it for the American side, the United States has poured in some $4,000,000,000 to aid a government that it despises for its corrupt ineptness and that it knows to be bad both for the Chinese people and for American business. Moreover, the trial of the leaders of the small American Communist Party gives Chinese Communists the impression that the United States is suppressing all opposition to an anti-Communist war. MacArthur's smearing of Agnes Smedley and Guenther Stein—both of whom have written books favorable to the Chinese Communists—also looks like preparation for hostile action against them. This fear of an approaching World War III would explain to a considerable extent why all foreign correspondents are treated as potential spies.

The ridiculous extremes the Chinese Communists go to in running down countries they might expect to be on their side have the same source. The Peiping *People's Daily* attacks the Socialist government of Burma as a "reactionary government," although many of its members got their political ideas from Chinese Communist pamphlets, and its economic program, which includes the nationalization of private foreign-owned companies, is more radical than that of the Chinese Communists. Of course the real reason for the attack is that Burma has a military alliance with Britain and is putting down Communist insurrection. Similarly, the Nehru-Patel government in India is accused of being the "tool of American and British capitalists," because it has attempted to help the embattled Indonesian Republic without calling in the Soviets.

Considerable effort goes into exaggerating the weakness of the United States. The recent drop in the American grain market was blown up in a number of articles into a sure sign of an imminent economic crash. This interpretation of facts goes far beyond the realm of legitimate Marxist analysis and becomes unadulterated morale-building propaganda whose object is to convince the Chinese they don't have to fear the great United States. The belittlement of America is accompanied by boasts of the strength of China's future allies. Every small economic advance even in tiny Albania, not to speak of the Soviet Union, is recorded in Chinese Communist papers today. No reports which might be considered even remotely unfriendly to Russia appear.

The belief in the virtual inevitability of World War III seems likely to hinder Chinese peace negotiations. One gets the impression that the Communist leaders are reluctant to come to terms with people like President Li Tsung-jen at this time, not so much because they fear that Li's group would slow down domestic social reforms as because they fear it would serve as an American fifth column in case of war.

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China's economic recovery is also likely to be retarded by such fears. During the recent conferences at Shihchiachuang between Communists and their liberal sympathizers one topic of discussion was China's foreign trade. A presumably Communist group is reported to have been in favor of having China depend primarily on its own resources, even if that means a delay in industrialization and temporary depression of the living standard. The assumption must have been that America, the only ready source of industrial goods, would not sell to a country with which it expected to go to war, while the U. S. S. R. had no goods to spare.

I discussed these fears of a new world war with a well-known Chinese political scientist of liberal views. Like most liberal Chinese, he was pleased by the imminent defeat of the Kuomintang and hopeful about the social reforms the Communists are introducing. But he was gloomy about China's economic prospects without friendly economic relations with the United States. Such relations could be restored, he believed, only if Communist leaders became convinced that America wants to live at peace with the Soviets. "It would need some big gesture to convince them," he said thoughtfully, "like Truman going to see Stalin."

The Only Hope for the G. O. P.

BY ELMO ROPER

IN WASHINGTON, before the leaders of his party, Governor Thomas E. Dewey made no bones about the split in the Republican Party. He told an assembly at a Lincoln Day dinner, "The Republican Party is split wide open. It has been split wide open for many years, but we have tried to gloss it over. . . . I suggest that we face it, get it right out in the open, and look at it." The defeated standard bearer of the Republicans then attacked those members of his party who want to return "to the good old days of the nineteenth century or even the 1920's." If the Republicans looked backward to the days of the past, he said, they could "bury the Republican Party as the deadest pigeon in the country."

Governor Dewey's speech brought to a climax the battle which has been going on within Republican ranks since the defeat of last November. At first glance this division might look like the usual little squabbles in a defeated political party. Actually it is more than that. The situation is serious for the Republican Party and for the two-party system in this country. For the record shows that over the past twenty years the Republicans have not won a single Presidential election and have gained control of the Congress only once, in 1946.

So the double-barreled question confronting Governor Dewey and other Republican Party leaders is this: Just what is the Republican Party today, and how can it develop the program and leadership to win future elections?

As to the make-up of the Republican Party, the *Fortune* survey over the past few years has accumulated some interesting facts. About one-third of the eligible voters call themselves Republicans. We have found that the Republican Party is rather heavily weighted with professional, business, and executive people, that generally Republicans come from the upper income groups, and that they have had more education than the voters as a whole. Republican strongholds are not in the big cities or, any longer, on the farms but in the smaller towns and cities. And despite Governor Dewey's plea for the greater participation of young people, the Republican Party has a larger proportion of older people than the Democratic Party has.

GOVERNOR DEWEY, speaking in Washington, proposed that the Republican Party be a party of neither the right nor the left but one taking the middle of the road, with perhaps an occasional sortie to the left. He defined this as the progressive approach the Republicans should now adopt. Using blunt words, Dewey asked those who oppose such measures as farm-price support, unemployment insurance, old-age benefits, and slum clearance to get out of the Republican Party.

How do these words of Governor Dewey's reflect the thinking of the rank and file of the party? How do Republicans feel about the measures he mentioned? Before we go into details, let me say right here that the major fact which any analysis brings out is that the large bulk of conservative opinion in America is in the Republican Party today. This does not mean, however, that the large bulk of Republicans are conservative; for the fact is that the majority of Americans, whether Republican or Democratic, are not what is usually called conservative. There is a substantial body of Republican opinion which goes along with a good part of the New Deal program, as we shall see in a moment.

Of course, on some issues, as might be expected, there has been agreement between what rank-and-file Republicans want and what the Republican leadership in

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Congress has stood for. For example, the Taft-Hartley act was perhaps the most controversial measure passed by the last Congress. And we have found that Republican voters, in the ratio of three to one, supported that labor legislation. Again, on the issue of price controls, over which there was bitter dispute between President Truman and the Eightieth Congress, the Republican rank and file supported their Congressional spokesmen.

But this approval does not by any means extend to all the stands their leaders in Congress have taken. In fact, for each piece of legislation proposed by Republican Congressmen which met with the approval of Republican Party members, another could be found which was disapproved. If anything, the results of our surveys show that the Republicans in Congress have been behind, certainly not ahead of, the sentiments of the rank and file with respect to what is called "progressive" legislation.

Governor Dewey

A good case to consider is that of housing. Although Senator Taft has sponsored low-cost-housing legislation, Republican leadership in the House stymied that legislation in the Eightieth Congress. But we have found that a large majority of Republican voters are *for* low-cost public housing financed by the federal government. One Republican business man out in Chicago summed up majority Republican feeling when he said to one of our interviewers: "Housing is the worst problem we have out here. . . . The situation is so desperate, I don't see how we can avoid turning to the government in Washington for the money and leadership on this problem." His view is upheld two to one by Republicans all over the country.

Or take another measure, extension of social security. Last year the Republican-controlled Congress, in an intricate legislative maneuver, actually *reduced* the number of people eligible for social-security benefits. Yet the overwhelming majority of Republican voters have for some time now wholeheartedly favored extending old-age benefits to an ever greater number of people—in fact, they support such a move seven to one.

In the similar ratio of seven to one Republican voters are in favor of the principle of TVA. As one farmer in a Republican county in eastern Tennessee put it, "Down here, we have seen the good things which TVA brought. We get cheap fertilizer for our fields, and we don't have floods like we used to. All in all, that TVA has been a blessing to us folks here in Tennessee." The same story could be told about many New Deal measures—minimum-wage legislation, federal aid to education, and other social measures.

In the field of foreign policy Republican opinion appears to be solidly behind the bi-partisan approach. The Marshall Plan and strengthening the United Nations are supported by heavy majorities of Republicans.

These facts indicate that Governor Dewey's Washington speech came pretty close to representing what the Republican rank and file would like to see their party do. On the whole they want a more progressive party, one better attuned to the needs of the day. And they want the bi-partisan approach to foreign affairs continued.

Of course, the program which the Republicans present is only part of the story of winning elections. Another part is the leadership. Who will the candidates be? Dewey had some tough words to say about putting up men who would oppose a liberal Republican program: "Those who disapprove of these principles and want to fight them ought to go out and try to get elected in a typical American community and see what happens to them."

THE New York Governor did not spell out what he meant by that phrase, "and see what happens to them." But an analysis of the races for Governor and Senator in many key states in the last election dramatically points to the fact that almost universally where the Republicans won, they won with what was *called* a liberal candidate. And in almost as many cases their so-called conservative candidates lost. In the Senate contests those Republicans who had voted rather consistently with the extreme diehard wing of the party ran behind their ticket and lost. Illinois is a prime example. Dewey lost Illinois by some 31,000 votes. But Governor Green and Senator Brooks lost by 541,000 and 369,000 votes, respectively. It is clear that neither Green nor Brooks helped Dewey's cause in Illinois. And one farmer in downstate Illinois whom we talked to in a post-election survey told us, "I kind of figured Dewey didn't have much chance when he had to carry around Green and Brooks with him. They hurt him in Illinois. I know that. And I'd guess that other folks elsewhere in the country must read papers and must have heard about our Republican Senator and Governor, and they might not be so keen for anybody on the Republican ticket, even the man who was running for President."

Perhaps Illinois was an extreme case. But to a slightly

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lesser degree the same thing was true for Wilson of Iowa, Ball of Minnesota, Robertson of Wyoming, and Buck of Delaware—all *ex*-Senators today. Each of these Republican Senators, generally regarded as conservatives, ran behind Governor Dewey.

The situation was exactly the opposite for the more liberal Republican candidates for Senator and Governor. In Iowa Governor Beardsley, who had won a primary fight against the Old Guard, ran some 130,000 votes ahead of Dewey and was elected, although Dewey lost the state; in Minnesota Governor Youngdahl, a progressive Republican, ran 307,000 votes ahead of his ticket and was elected; and in Massachusetts Senator Saltonstall, a New England liberal, ran 365,000 votes ahead of the ticket. These are but a few instances.

In almost every state where the Republicans had put up someone labeled a conservative, Dewey ran ahead of the ticket. Wherever someone labeled a liberal was on the ticket with Dewey, either they both ran equally well or the liberal candidate for Senator or Governor did better than Dewey. In several cases the voters went out of their way and crossed party lines to vote for a liberal Republican candidate. In Minnesota Senator Ball lost by over 200,000 votes, but Governor Youngdahl, also a Republican, won by almost 100,000 votes; in Iowa Republican Senator Wilson lost by over 150,000 votes, but Republican Governor Beardsley won by over 100,000. This central fact of the 1948 elections is in many ways the handwriting on the wall for the Republican Party.

The same trend was evident among the Democrats. Candidates for Governor or Senator who were regarded by the people as liberals ran ahead of the national ticket. Conservative candidates, by and large, fell behind.

The verdict of the American people last November made it perfectly plain, as Governor Dewey tried to point out, that the Republicans must chart a liberal course for the future if they hope to win elections in the next few years. Moreover, our surveys have shown that a majority of those who regard themselves as normally Republican agree with that view. Of course, the split within the Republican Party is far from healed. In many states the battle will continue. But in the end the wing of the Republican Party which will emerge victorious will be that wing which can get its candidates elected. Last November's election returns, analyzed by states, make it clear that the people voted for men labeled progressive—whether on the Republican or Democratic ticket.

LIBERTY IN AMERICA

Full Disclosure: Public Safeguard

BY JAMES LAWRENCE FLY

[*The enactment of legislation requiring political and other pressure groups to publish their purposes, their sources of income, their disbursements, and the names of their officers was recommended by the President's Committee on Civil Rights. This proposal has been strongly supported by Morris L. Ernst as a means of uncovering "subversive" organizations and opposed by Arthur Garfield Hays as a threat to civil liberties. Mr. Hays presented his arguments in* The Nation *of January 29 in an article entitled Full Disclosure: Dangerous Precedent. James Lawrence Fly, former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, replies to him here.*]

SUCH is the standing of Arthur Garfield Hays as a leader in the fight to preserve our liberties that the mere statement of his opposition to the policy of "disclosure" gives me pause. I have considerable respect for Mr. Hays's opinions because they are his. Yet he argues that to require disclosure is "to judge ideas by the people who advocate them"—as if we did not do this already. Is it not better that the influence which attaches to personality and public standing be based on that of the true author rather than that of the poseur or the mouthpiece for hidden interests?

The Roosevelts, Hitler, Churchill, Coughlin, O'Daniel—all, within short memory, sold their ideas almost as much by their personality as by the soundness of their advocacy. The colorless little man at the street corner with the same ideas is still at the street corner. Once the forceful personality is established—through voice, personal appearance, or other device—the mode of expression becomes secondary. A mere statement of position or a sheer conclusion by one of these men is accorded great respect by large segments of the population. To require disclosure of authorship is to change the effect of personality in only one respect—to expose the false mouthpiece, thus diminishing its effect on idea acceptance and revealing the interests at the actual source. Once we know the axes that are being ground, we are able to make the discount for self-interest that every judge and lawyer, including Mr. Hays, recognizes as essential. Very little advocacy is in terms of the pure theory of the idea. Per contra, the conclusion is generally based

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upon factual "information." If it is proper to require the identification of lobbying groups who seek to influence the legislature, why is it not of equal importance to identify the groups who would influence public opinion at its source? Whether it be a recitation of events or an economic or statistical study, a knowledge of the selfish interests of the proponents is useful in appraising merit.

Mr. Hays says the ordinary citizen, for whom he has a deep regard, "may well refrain from joining a movement in which he believes if his connection with it may cause him personal injury or lessen the esteem in which he is held." Presumably, this fear of the ordinary citizen would arise when pressure groups are required to disclose their officers, their purposes, their important sources of income.

LET'S look at the record. The greatest fear and embarrassment have been suffered by many thousands of citizens and government employees through their innocent association with false-fronted organizations. Their names have been euphonious and high sounding, their partially stated purposes of an appealing character, their list of members often heavily weighted with respected men, themselves misled. As a consequence, the fear of joining is deep and widespread. Where today can the ordinary citizen interested in causes go with safety and effectiveness? If his fear is to be overcome and if he is to have a decent opportunity to participate in the advocacy of causes, the most beneficial thing he can be given is a statement of the true and actual purposes of his organization, its dominant personalities, and its controlling sources of income.

Again, Mr. Hays worries about the little man and his minor financial contribution to and membership activity in the unpopular cause. Neither Morris L. Ernst nor I have advocated that his minor contribution in dollars or his membership or lesser activity should be disclosed. The local tyrant won't reach him. And the powerful interests behind worthy causes will normally be able to care for themselves. What $100,000 anti-Hague contributors in Jersey City could not stand up and be counted? The present system would seem to afford a cloak for the powerful deceiver, while the little timid man is subjected to the risks of his deception and is exposed to public injury through his association.

Mr. Hays finds in the disclosure proposal of the President's Committee on Civil Rights a tendency toward censorship and the discouragement of expression. In the main this is without proof unless he be right on the two major premises already discussed. We seek to lift the current fear and to achieve greater safety in joining and in advocating causes.

Mr. Hays then devotes much attention to the fear of further regulation—and hence to future encroachments on our personal liberties. This same argument has been used against every regulation adopted to meet a real public need. His case is weakened by such extreme statements as these: "The apparent purpose is disclosure. The real purpose, and the only intelligent purpose, is destruction. We know what Gerald L. K. Smith stands for, but we want to know who is behind his so-called propaganda movement. Why? So that we can 'get' the others, pillory them, or keep them quiet." Needless to say, no one supporting full disclosure has remotely suggested pillorying anyone for his support of ideas. Should such a prospect ever appear, Mr. Ernst and I would join Mr. Hays in his opposition. Suffice it for the day that we discuss the principle of disclosure.

He refers no doubt to a number of federal registration acts and regulations in special areas such as the mail laws, the Foreign Agents Registration Act, the lobbying laws, the New York "Klan" law, and the requirements for full disclosure of every financial interest in radio stations. Some of these are pretty extreme, going well beyond the simple disclosure principle here involved. And except for identification as "the so-called Klan law," no mention is made of the New York Civil Rights law, which was enacted in 1923 and, as amplified, is still the established law. It requires membership corporations and unincorporated associations to register the intimate details of their purposes, their membership, resolutions, and the like, and forbids anonymous communications to non-members. Whatever be the merit of a simple disclosure principle, it can hardly be said to be novel or without vast legislative background.

FINALLY Mr. Hays asserts that we already have adequate legal authority to investigate and ascertain the facts. He refers to the FBI and, quite apparently, to Congressional committees. Are those methods better? The abusive procedures and methods of the House Committee on Un-American Activities are notorious. Public injury has been done to hundreds of our innocent citizens. FBI agents have impaired the standing of many thousands of citizens by raising the issue of their loyalty in questioning neighbors, friends, building managements, hairdressers, and charwomen. Did a final clearance ever stop these idle tongues from wagging? Can it possibly be denied that these very methods have built up in the public a tremendous fear psychology? Where does that leave our cherished freedom of association, our freedom of assembly? Do we want to perpetuate this system? Untold grief would have been saved if these thousands had known what they were getting into. And I again submit, absence of fear and freedom of association will return to us as a working mechanism of our democracy if citizens can have the facts about the nature of the organizations they join.

Mr. Hays's stated assumption that the purpose of the

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proposed regulation is to "get" Communists overlooks its broad and non-discriminatory character. It will apply equally to the pro-fascist and the various shirted and sheeted groups. And it may be of great public significance in this rich country to unveil the powerful financial interests behind certain professors, writers, public speakers, and propaganda groups.

I readily concur in the statement that people are to be free to adopt "bad" ideas as well as "good." And such freedom includes the right to be corrupted and contaminated in the realm of ideas. The government has come to the aid of men free to buy such securities as they may want by setting up standards of true representations by sellers. But the citizen is still free to buy a worthless security if he wants to. A freedom to be contaminated by ideas connotes a free and open choice. Freedom to choose causes is both illusory and ineffective if the real causes to be promoted are concealed. Only if the actual causes and ideas are in the open is freedom of choice a living and vital thing. At that stage the citizen is enabled to make a free choice, to adopt the bad ideas and to contaminate himself as he will. What he does with that freedom is none of the government's business unless he violates the law.

The theory that truth will win out in the market place of ideas is an appealing one. To this we pin our faith. But even the optimistic Milton did not suggest that truth could win every fight except in open encounter.

Prophecy for Europe

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

THERE is no doubt after a year of Marshall Plan aid that Europe has made great economic progress. Industrial as well as agricultural production has risen; direct war damage has in part been repaired; the standard of living has nowhere deteriorated, and in some countries it has improved. All indications are that production will continue to increase in the coming year.

But the picture is not as simple as it appears at first sight. When funds for the Marshall Plan were approved by Congress, it was assumed that after roughly four years Europe would be able to stand on its own feet economically—in other words, be able to pay for its imports without dangerously lowering its living standards. The United States was to give economic aid for these four years, and *only* for these four years. After this transition period Europe was expected to be completely independent and in a position to determine its own political and social future.

Today it has become clear that, in spite of the progress it has made, Europe will be dependent on the United States long after 1952. This is shown in the Interim Report on the nineteen separate national plans for Western European recovery, prepared in Paris by the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. The London *Economist* writes, in express agreement with the findings of the report: "The . . . assumption which cannot survive the publication of the Interim Report is that the problem of restoring European standards of living and European viability can be solved by 1952."

The Interim Report is most interesting for what it does not include. It does not include a coordinated plan to overcome the European economic crisis as a whole. The nineteen European nations evidently found it impossible to put forward a common plan; in the light of harsh economic reality no appreciable progress toward a United States of Europe could be recorded, and the report assumes that there will be no appreciable progress during the next few years. Accepting the political fragmentation of Europe, the report tries to show what advances must be made in the various countries in order to reduce economic dependence on the United States to a minimum by 1952.

For generations Europe was the center of world industrial production, and its exports consisted chiefly of manufactured goods. The years from 1870 to 1938 saw a tremendous increase in the production of such goods, but in the same period the *share* of manufactures in world trade fell from one-third to one-tenth. Thus even before the Second World War Europe was no longer able to pay for its imports of foodstuffs and raw materials through its exports of manufactured goods. Approximately 30 per cent of its imports were paid for by "invisible earnings," consisting largely of the income from European investments in foreign countries.

As a result of the war Europe has lost the greater part of its foreign assets and consequently of its income from this source. To become economically independent in the future, it must therefore pay for its imports almost exclusively with exports. Obviously this can be done only through an increase in production *and* in exports. The authors of the report hope that a 30 per cent increase in industrial production and a 15 per cent increase in agricultural production can be achieved by

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1952. But since the population of Europe has increased 10 per cent over the pre-war period, the need for imports of foodstuffs will not be greatly reduced even if this agricultural goal is reached.

A 30 per cent increase in industrial production can be achieved only if output per man-hour is raised by no less than 15 per cent in this relatively short period. Most European experts are extremely skeptical about the possibility of such an improvement in so short a time. But even if production is raised that much, how great an increase in exports can be expected, and how far will it carry Western Europe toward economic independence?

The following figures given in the report show present European imports and exports, and those supposed to be attained at the end of three years:

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF THE MARSHALL PLAN COUNTRIES
($ billion, at 1948-49 prices)

Destination	1947		1948-49		1952-53	
	Imports	*Exports*	*Imports*	*Exports*	*Imports*	*Exports*
North and Central America.....	7.3	1.05	5.7	1.25	3.8	2.1
South America....	1.7	0.75	1.7	0.95	2.1	2.0
Sterling area.....	2.0	2.0	2.9	2.3	3.3	3.1
Eastern Europe....	0.9	0.75			2.2	2.0
Other Countries..	0.6	0.85	2.1	1.7	1.4	1.4
Total.....	12.5	5.4	12.4	6.2	12.8	10.6

It will be seen that the nations which in 1948-49 paid for only half their imports through exports have set themselves the goal of paying for roughly four-fifths in this way by 1952-53. They are to accomplish it, with little change in the amount of imports and without reducing their living standards, through an enormous increase in exports.

IS SUCH an increase in European exports likely? Frankly, no. A number of factors make it almost certain that this goal will not be achieved by 1952-53.

History provides an example that should serve as a warning. When after the First World War a figure was set for German reparations which in the long run could be met only by export surpluses, the assumption was that world trade was entering on a period of vast expansion; only then could German exports increase so greatly without critical injury to the exports of other countries. Today we know how unjustified this assumption was. If European exports are now to be increased from $6.2 billion to $10.6 billion without demoralizing the world market, world exports will have to increase proportionately, that is, by 60 to 70 per cent, in the brief period of three years. This is most unlikely. But apart from this difficulty there are other factors which make it highly improbable that Europe's exports will rise to the level set in the report. One is the question of trade between Eastern and Western Europe. In 1947 exports from the Marshall Plan countries to Eastern Europe amounted to $.75 billion. During the period of the plan this figure is supposed to be almost tripled, that is, raised to $2 billion.

The trend in Eastern Europe, however, is one of accelerated industrialization. History does, it is true, offer examples of a sharp increase in foreign trade during a period of industrial upbuilding, but this has occurred only when countries developing their industry at a forced pace were aided by large capital exports from the more advanced countries. A United Nations report* of August 28, 1948, dealing specifically with the question of East-West trade, states:

> As the history of all countries undertaking industrialization has shown, the process of industrialization requires not a contraction but a large expansion in the importation of manufactured goods, particularly in the products of heavy industries—iron and steel, machinery and equipment. Before the war the countries of Eastern Europe received practically the whole of their imports of such manufactured goods from the countries of Western Europe, and the Western European countries will undoubtedly remain for many years the most advantageous source of supply of the products for the Eastern countries.

And further:

> It appears . . . that the level of exports of the Eastern European countries could be restored to something approaching pre-war levels within a few years if the Western European countries could, in turn, expand their exports—chiefly in machinery and fertilizers—sufficiently both to satisfy the requirements for those goods which are essential for the realization of their programs and to offer adequate supplies in compensation for the higher levels of exports.

If the world were at peace today and remained at peace for the next few years, the expansion of East-West trade required for fulfilment of the Marshall Plan might well occur. But the world is not at peace; the world is in a state of truce, and the trade between Eastern and Western Europe is largely controlled by the conditions of the truce. If Russia's satellites could import billions of dollars' worth of capital equipment, their industrialization would be vastly accelerated. But today increased industrial potential is regarded as tantamount to increased military potential.

Trade between Eastern and Western Europe is therefore no longer a purely economic matter. A political question arises: Will this trade increase the industrial potential of Russia and its satellites to an extent that will outweigh its aid in the recovery of Western Europe? This question has often been formulated in

*United Nations Office at Geneva, Press Release 541, "Economic Commission for Europe."

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Washington and indeed dominates present policy. The United States is well able to enforce its views, since any appreciable increase in East-West trade is impossible without extensive American credits. As I pointed out above, if trade between Eastern and Western Europe is resumed on a new basis—that is, on the basis of Eastern Europe's industrialization plans—large credits will be needed to get it under way. Western Europe must deliver machines, capital equipment, and other products of heavy industry *before* it can obtain foodstuffs and raw materials from Eastern Europe in payment. Today the Marshall Plan countries are in no position to grant credits for such purchases; the transition would have to be financed by America.

It is possible that loans for certain small projects will be granted by this country if the advantages to Western Europe clearly outweigh the disadvantages. But certainly Eastern Europe will not receive billions of dollars in American credits to speed up its industrialization, even though this is the only way in which trade between Eastern and Western Europe could possibly be stepped up to $2 billion annually.

TENSION between Russia and America is making itself felt at another crucial point, though this is not yet clearly revealed in the economic programs of the Marshall Plan countries. These programs, like the Interim Report, have been drawn up on the totally unrealistic assumption that the military expenditures of Western Europe will remain more or less stable in the next few years. Defense expenditures for Britain will be increased only from 18.4 per cent of the budget to 20 per cent in the coming year. Dutch military appropriations are similarly to rise but 2 per cent, despite the enormous cost of the war against the Indonesian Republic. The military expenditures of France are expected to increase by approximately one-eighth from 1948 to 1949; Belgium, which in 1947 allotted 6.25 per cent of its budget to military use, plans to raise this figure to 7.25 per cent in 1949. These relatively slight increases are planned at a time when negotiations are under way for an Atlantic Pact, under which the United States intends to help equip the armies of Western Europe with modern weapons through a kind of lend-lease.

It is obvious that this military aid will be granted by the United States only if the Western European countries for their part undertake to build up their armies to somewhere near fighting strength. Thus the Atlantic Pact will obstruct prospective increases in ordinary exports, since production of export goods will be restricted by the rearmament effort and by the drawing off of manpower from industry into the armed forces.

A realistic analysis therefore confirms the view that the Marshall Plan countries, for all the considerable improvement noted in particular fields, cannot possibly achieve economic independence by 1952. This goal would be attainable only if there were real progress toward establishment of a United States of Europe. In many statements of policy this country has proclaimed its support of European unification. Actually it pursues a policy which creates almost insurmountable barriers to such a development. This is true above all in Germany.

Hail Fellow Well Met

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Vancouver, Washington, February 22

MONRAD CHARLES WALLGREN would still be governor of the state of Washington today instead of fighting a stiff battle to obtain confirmation of his appointment as chairman of the National Security Resources Board if it were not for his obstinate and misguided loyalty to Dave Beck. During the campaign of last autumn Wallgren chose to defend his selection of the teamster boss as a member of the University of Washington's Board of Regents. This cost him the normal Democratic majority in Seattle, where Beck had been attempting to choke off the strike against Boeing Aircraft. As a result Wallgren lost the governorship by the narrow margin of 27,000 votes out of 850,000 cast, while the rest of the Democratic ticket, free of the taint of Beck, was elected.

Perhaps his Swedish stubbornness, his personal fealty, and his jolly-good-fellowship have endeared Mon Wallgren to the President of the United States, who also is known for loyalty to a beleaguered comrade. No one could have traveled through the Pacific Northwest with the President last summer without noting the genuine bond between the two men. Harry Truman was not indulging in pleasantries when he stood on the rear platform of a train in Wallgren's home town and spoke of "Mon's mother, a grand person, just like my mother. She raised a good son and here he is. You know, a boy or girl reflects his parents, and I think Mon Wallgren is a shining example of a good beginning." As he listened to these words at Everett, Charley Ross, press

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, a well-known journalist and a frequent contributor to The Nation, *was elected to the Oregon Senate last fall.*

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secretary to the President, observed, "The President hardly ever talks about anyone outside his own family as affectionately as he talks about Mon Wallgren."

Seligson

Mon Wallgren

Now that this affection has caused Wallgren's appointment as head of the National Security Resources Board, will it prove to be as misguided as Wallgren's own faith in Dave Beck? Is it the first real lulu of the new Truman Administration, as some writers have intimated? America's strategic minerals are not something to be put in the hands of a man just because he is an old crony.

Mon Wallgren, fifty-seven, silvery-haired and pink-cheeked, looks like the movie version of a small-town banker or merchant. In behavior he is not unlike his devoted friend Harry Truman. Wallgren has a hard time shaking his head when a political buddy pleads for an affirmative decision. As governor he frequently shot from the holster without careful aim. He likes to reach verdicts amid the conviviality of clicking glasses rather than in the stuffiness of the conference chamber. The Elks Club contributed many of his advisers. He is in no sense profound and never pretends to profundity. Like his friend in the White House, his formal education stopped with high school. Indeed, Wallgren first became widely enough known to get elected to Congress in the Democratic revival of 1932 by winning the regional 18.2 balkline billiard championship.

Liberals regarded Wallgren as a governor whose "heart was in the right place." Invariably he slanted left of center. Yet his point of view could be narrow. He vetoed an otherwise sound teachers' tenure act because its sponsors had inadvertently given school custodians the same protection as teachers. He fought for public power but jeopardized his whole program by getting into a nasty row with the churches over the legalization of liquor by the glass.

Never one to pore through a government report when a detective novel lay within reach, Wallgren often was short on facts at press conferences. This led to an incredibly erratic administration. "Both Harry and Mon are trigger-happy," said a Washington, D. C., writer who visited Olympia with the President. One week Wallgren would be deriding the initiative and referendum, thus incurring the wrath of trade unions. A week later he would be assailing the Canwell Un-American Activities Committee so bitingly that its chairman was defeated for reelection in conservative Spokane County.

Toward the close of his term as governor, Wallgren began to show increasing fondness for the fleshpots. He would be basking in the sun at Palm Springs while Washington highway crews were bucking fourteen feet of snow to keep open Snoqualmie Pass. His name was coupled in newspaper stories with Howard Hughes parties at which skimpily draped starlets allegedly had put on swimming exhibitions. The Governor also was reported to be living high on a yacht operated by the state Department of Fisheries. And it was rumored widely that in order to wangle "bottle club" licenses it was necessary to hire certain Democratic lawyers.

Such disturbing episodes did not cripple Wallgren politically. He ran well in rural precincts, where they might be expected to be most damaging. He suffered his mortal blow in Seattle, normally a Democratic stronghold, as the result of his tie with the arrogant Beck.

DO THESE facts disqualify Wallgren to preside over the National Security Resources Board? Is Washington's Republican junior Senator, Harry P. Cain, correct when he calls it a "shocking appointment"?

Ironically enough, Mon Wallgren is probably fairly well equipped to head the National Resources Board, although he might be a misfit in many other government posts. Despite his generally mediocre record as a governor, he excelled on occasions when resource development and conservation were at stake. This undoubtedly accounted for his strong showing in country districts. Long before more erudite public figures realized that the Columbia Basin could not be effectively developed in piecemeal fashion, Wallgren was advocating a CVA. And when the Army Engineers and the Department of the Interior set up a phony inter-agency "coordination" board to forestall a CVA, Wallgren was the only governor in the region who refused to lend his name to the scheme.

Before becoming governor, Wallgren served four terms in Congress and a hitch in the United States Senate. On Capitol Hill, too, an interest in the grandeur and vistas of the West was his one forte. He tenaciously drove to passage a bill creating the Olympic National Park, although sawmills and logging companies in his district swore everlasting revenge. Now the spruce and fir "rain forests" of the Olympics are safe from ax and saw; and even President Roosevelt called the park a tribute to Wallgren. When Secretary Krug and Senator Magnuson of Washington were temporizing over park boundaries a few years ago, Wallgren stiffened their spines with a blast at lumber corporations seeking to get at the great groves on tidewater.

So Mon Wallgren's control of the National Security Resources Board is not too dark a prospect. Inferior ex-

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ecutive and administrator though he may be, he has demonstrated a genuine feeling for the inventory he must protect. Nor do the people of the Northwest necessarily consider it an indictment that his principal foe happens to be Senator Harry Cain.

Cain is an accident of the 1946 G. O. P. landslide. As Senator he has sponsored the proposals of the real-estate lobby, flirted with Buchmanism, advocated a revenue-bond scheme which would make the cost of federal irrigation prohibitive to farmers, and called a formal press conference to announce that his wife was divorcing him. Young Republicans in the state of Washington have assailed Cain's dubious reclamation proposals. And since even the most sophisticated state is not without local pride, Washington has not taken kindly to the fact that the junior Senator is trying to keep a native son out of an important federal position.

Mon Wallgren will not be one of the outstanding appointments made by Harry Truman. But he could be a long way from the worst. People in the West were not worried by Wallgren's failure to answer certain technical questions on minerals, oil, and timber before the Senate committee. They remember that his "heart was in the right place" when the spruce forests were in danger, and they hope he can stay away from Palm Springs and night clubs while the Security Resources Board tries to safeguard our national legacy.

Censoring Sartre

BY HOMER A. JACK

Chicago, February 21

THE scene is Chicago's City Hall. The time is last December. The characters are Commissioner of Police John Prendergast and Winston O'Keefe, managing director of New Stages, Inc.

Commissioner Prendergast: Who is this author, Sartre?

Director O'Keefe: He's a philosopher, novelist, and playwright whose works have been shown and read all over the world.

Prendergast: Where does he live, in New York?

O'Keefe: No, in Paris.

Prendergast: Then let him stay there.

The scene can close here, since Commissioner Prendergast refused to allow Jean-Paul Sartre's play "The Respectful Prostitute" to be performed in Chicago, although it had run forty weeks in New York. The Commissioner also threatened to suspend the Shuberts' license on the Studebaker Theater for a year if they attempted to produce the play. Captain Harry Fulmer of the Crime Prevention Division of the Police Department said the play contained "the basest immorality" and also constituted "a gross insult to the colored race." However, Richard Wright, author of "Native Son" and "Black Boy," praised the play for "helping us to see ourselves," and *Ebony* magazine recently gave the play its award for the drama doing most to better race relations in 1948.

DR. JACK is minister of the Unitarian Church of Evanston and vice-chairman of the Chicago Division of the American Civil Liberties Union.

An appeal was made to Mayor Martin H. Kennelly to overrule the Police Department, but the Mayor upheld the ban. The *Sun-Times* and the *Daily News* editorialized mildly against this censorship, and telegrams of protest deluged the Mayor from the Dramatists' Guild, the New York Drama Critics' Circle, the Actors' Equity Association, the League of New York Theaters, and the Managers' and Agents' Union. But Christmas conveniently came to Chicago, and the incident was soon forgotten—by all except the cast, whose road trip had been suspended. News of the Chicago ban caused cancelations in Cleveland, Buffalo, and Rochester.

The Chicago division of the American Civil Liberties Union, under the direction of its chief counsel, Leon Depres, then arranged that six student groups at the university should sponsor one performance of the play in the university's largest auditorium, and Actors' Equity agreed to let the original cast fly from New York to perform for expenses only. Mayor Kennelly and police officials were sent invitations. Captain Fulmer indicated that he would probably attend—with a police wagon. The Mayor told reporters, "I object to a word in the title. In my visits to New York and Washington last week I saw enough of those characters around."

The performance was given on February 8 before an invited audience of almost eleven hundred students and distinguished citizens, including judges, aldermen, clergymen, and drama critics, but not the Mayor. The police did not show up. The audience by a rising vote approved a resolution calling upon the Mayor to rescind the ban. Prominent independent voters who supported the Mayor confidentially urged him to allow the play to run. The drama critics of the metropolitan newspapers, though varying in their appraisal of the play, uniformly condemned the censorship.

At this writing the city administration is looking for a way out. If only the title could be changed, the play could probably be performed, but a serious author does not change a title easily. Aroused Chicagoans are not only demanding that the ban on Sartre's play be lifted but beginning to wonder whether the censorship of all plays and movies by the Motion Picture Section of the Police Department should not be abolished. For this police censorship they would substitute more sensitivity by patrons at the box office and, in the case of indecent plays and movies, the use of existing city and state pornography statutes to prosecute producers.

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Del Vayo—Salazar, "Democratic" Favorite

IF SPAIN'S struggle for liberty receives little attention in the American press, Portugal's is even more generally ignored. Except for *The Nation,* which in its editorial columns gave due attention to the Portuguese presidential elections of February 13, American newspapers carried only a few items reporting the victory of Salazar's puppet, the seventy-nine-year-old General Carmona.

Salazar, the Portuguese dictator, arouses, it is true, less hostility than Franco. To begin with, he is a higher type of man than his Spanish colleague, more intelligent and more honest. He has taken good care to avoid such repulsive spectacles as the Falangist executions—a dozen more people have been sentenced to death in the last few weeks in Barcelona, Seville, and Ocaña. Portuguese rebels disappear more discreetly—doomed to a slow death on islands of which people outside of Portugal have never heard. Instead of serving as Hitler's lackey, Salazar threw in his luck with the Allies from the day war broke out. Moreover, Salazar has for Catholics the attraction of being himself a genuine Catholic. The Vatican may extend support to both brother dictators of the Iberian Peninsula, but it knows how to distinguish between a sincerely religious man like Oliveira Salazar and a Franco who among his intimates is a blasphemous pagan official like other Spanish generals with a career in Morocco behind them, and who bends his knee to the Catholic church because it keeps him in power. However, the aureole of piety which surrounds the Portuguese dictator should not blind us to the odiousness of his rule or to the struggle of Portuguese liberals to overthrow him.

This struggle received eloquent expression in the recent presidential campaign. Salazar, believing that the elections could help him to be accepted as a member of the United Nations and then as a signatory of the Atlantic Pact, decided there was no risk in allowing a certain amount of freedom to the opposition and its candidate, the eighty-two-year-old General Norton de Mattos. But the first week of free electioneering was enough to terrify him. As soon as the press realized that the stranglehold of the censorship had been relaxed, the only papers that rooted for the regime were those under its direct control.

Salazar had a terrible shock. By repeating it often enough in official declarations he had come to believe that the opposition to his regime was made up entirely of "reds" and Free Masons. The personality of Norton de Mattos, whose prestige in Portugal is comparable to that of Marshall or Eisenhower here, made it difficult to persist in this delusion. So he fell back on the belief that the old general had no following. I have seen photographs of the meeting at Oporto at which Norton de Mattos spoke on January 23 to more than 200,000 people.

A leading Portuguese liberal now in America tells me that Salazar was so startled at finding such a large sector of the people against him that he considered using the elections as the signal for his own retirement as *Caudillo.* He was advised against this, according to my informant, by the American embassy in Lisbon. His friends in the embassy are said to have convinced him that this was no time for democratic experiments in a country of such great strategic importance to the Western powers. Possibly no such barefaced intervention actually took place, but it would not be inconsistent with Washington's policy toward the Spanish dictatorship.

When Salazar saw that half-measures would not suffice to curb the recently granted liberty of expression, he prepared to use others. The Minister of War was ordered to ascertain whether the garrisons of Lisbon and other important centers would support any steps the government might take to defeat the opposition—in view of the character and military rank of the opposing candidate, Salazar felt such an assurance was necessary. Similarly the Minister of the Interior sounded out the officers of the Republican Guard, the militarized Portuguese police. When General Norton de Mattos saw that force was to be used to decide the election in defiance of previous promises of free elections, he withdrew from the contest.

During the campaign Salazar reproached Norton de Mattos with wanting to reestablish the democratic parliamentary system abolished by the 1926 coup, with having no program, and with being supported by the Communists. The first charge was perfectly true; the second was partially justified, for the old general's chief aim was the liberation of his country and he had not as yet formulated a detailed program, preferring to leave that to the elected representatives of the people. The third accusation was an absurd distortion of the known facts.

The Portuguese Communist Party exists only in the minds of those who see a Communist in everyone who demands liberty at home and opposes any unnecessary threat to peace. That no legal Communist Party is permitted in Portugal under Salazar goes without saying, but neither is there an underground party. No Portuguese party, so far as I know, was recognized by the old Comintern.

In this charge of Communist aid Portuguese liberals also see the hand of the United States. A letter from Lisbon dated February 10, 1949, written by a liberal supporter of General Norton de Mattos, contains the following words: "It is said here, and unquestionably with some truth, that the accusation of pro-communism made against General Norton de Mattos's supporters was suggested by the American ambassador, Mr. Lincoln MacVeagh, who knows how efficacious the 'red scare' has been in his own country."

Despite his advanced age General Norton de Mattos conducted a vigorous campaign, and he is now engaged in regrouping his forces. Though the elections were a travesty, the entire Portuguese population—in continental Portugal, the Azores, and the overseas dominions—responded to the call of democracy. The tremendous but orderly crowds which surged to the meetings for the liberal general in the smallest hamlets and the largest cities were the most impressive movement for the restoration of the republic that Portugal has ever witnessed.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Great Garrick

GARRICK. By Margaret Barton. The Macmillan Company. $5.

THE contemporaries of David Garrick believed him not only the best actor who had ever lived but almost the inventor of any art of acting worthy of the name. Most of them, to be sure, had never seen Betterton, of whom almost the same things had been said, and it may be that Garrick enjoyed the advantage of weak competition. But from the moment in 1741 when he made his first unheralded performance in a leading role until he retired some thirty-five years later he reveled in the enjoyment of one of the most splendid careers any man ever had. There were no struggles, for after a few months of a provincial apprenticeship he leaped into a position of recognized supremacy, and that supremacy was never questioned until he died, rich and honored. The story of his success is almost monotonously unrelieved by untoward incident, and though he was undoubtedly vain, the only wonder is that he remained a very decent and sensible human being. Perhaps he regretted that he could leave nothing except a reputation behind, but it is difficult to imagine any other complaint against fate which he could possibly have had.

The present volume is, I believe, the first serious attempt in more than forty years to tell his story in reasonably complete form. It makes no pretense to absolute completeness, for the records are voluminous and an exhaustive chronicle would require several volumes at least. Neither does it claim to present any startling new discoveries. But the author knows her way about the eighteenth century very well indeed, her book is eminently readable, and it obviously takes its place as the work to which any ordinary reader will turn if he wants to make Garrick's acquaintance. Miss Barton is concerned first of all with events and with the story itself, but she manages to create an atmosphere and to throw light on questions concerning the peculiar nature of Garrick's gifts and the use which he made of them. What she has to say strikes out in no new direction—tends, indeed, to confirm what has been the prevailing attitude—but it is also responsible and well supported.

Perhaps the most striking general fact about Garrick is simply that he *is* a supreme example of a man who had one talent, who discovered it early, and who cultivated it with the relentless single-mindedness of one not interested in anything else. Nothing except his ability to act was remarkable about him. What he wrote is usable theatrical stuff but no more. And though he moved among the great of his day in an age when conversation and personality were more highly valued and more relentlessly recorded than at any time before or since, there is not one single remark either very witty or very shrewd attributed to him. He was a good and amusing companion because he was nearly always cheerful, animated, and full of high spirits. But he was acting all the time, and it was manner not matter which counted. He was decent, temperate, prudent, cautious, methodical, and amiable, but these are almost negative things, and he seems to have had no personality except that which he assumed for the moment, on stage or off. Literally he seemed to prefer to act rather than to be, and he could act Abel Drugger or Macbeth with equal pleasure. One of the earliest preserved of his letters is that in which he apologizes to his family for taking up the disreputable profession of player, explaining that it will give him an opportunity to do what he "dotes" on. When he had given his farewell performance he stepped to the front of the stage to make a short speech and, so Miss Barton says, "gave the audience a long look which had in it something of agony." Undoubtedly he loved applause, but that was not all. One almost suspects that only when he was impersonating did he feel that he was anybody at all.

It is pretty generally agreed that Garrick's immediate predecessors had allowed acting to fall into mere monotonous declamation. Certainly his immediate successor, John Philip Kemble, was at least relatively cold and formal. But of course we can never know how Garrick himself would have struck us. His contemporaries marveled at his "naturalness," at his vivacity, and at the remarkable play of his facial expression, but we can never see him except through eyes different from ours. A Macbeth costumed in the red and gold of a grenadier we might get used to. But would he seem to us stilted and "unnatural," or would some extraordinary genius win us quickly to an acceptance of his style? If we try to reconcile some of the things which were said of him with either the many pictures which survive or with other contemporary description, it seems that he must have combined certain formal conventions with naturalistic touches in a fashion which well might strike us as incongruous. One thing is certain. He was no follower of the Stanislavsky method. One of the best known of all the stories about him concerns his experiment with a new trick in one of the great tragic roles of Shakespeare. "It will do, it will do," he is said to have whispered triumphantly to one of his fellow-players in the midst of a big passionate scene; "I can see it in their eyes."

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Blackett on the Bomb

FEAR, WAR, AND THE BOMB. Military and Political Consequences of Atomic Energy. By P. M. S. Blackett. Whittlesey House. $3.50.

PROFESSOR P. M. S. BLACKETT'S provocative and penetrating study of the atom bomb, now brought out here, was published in England four months ago. As a result, we have already had a taste of the furious debate certain to be aroused by Blackett's contention that the atom bomb is not an "absolute" weapon; that in believing it is Americans have fallen victim to hysteria; and that our atom neurosis has led us to demand an unworkable air-tight security scheme, the Baruch plan, which has been transformed into an instrument of cold war.

Blackett is one of the world's most able physicists, winner of the Nobel prize in 1948 for his cosmic-ray re-

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searches (he heads the largest cosmic-ray laboratory in Europe), first man to photograph the transmutation of an element, author of an equation which may be the long-sought link between gravitation and magnetism—and which if proved that, will rank him with Einstein. During the war he played a leading role in devising the battle tactics that defeated the German submarine offensive; later he was a member of the British government Advisory Committee on Atomic Energy. Thus he brings a rare combination of brilliance and experience to the formidable task undertaken in "Fear, War, and the Bomb"—that is, rigorous reexamination of the entire atomic-energy question, beginning with the probable role of the atom bomb in a future war.

As I noted in *The Nation* at the time the book was published in England, Blackett contends that atom bombs are not enough more powerful than ordinary bombs, or likely to be sufficiently numerous, to exceed the air offensives of the last war—air offensives which, he shows, were not decisive factors in the defeat of Germany and Japan. The atom bomb, therefore, cannot bring quick victory in a struggle between two still greater powers, the United States and the U. S. S. R. Intercontinental guided missiles and militarily effective intercontinental bombers, he also says, will not exist for some years; consequently American fears of a sudden devastating transoceanic A-bomb attack are wholly groundless.

Blackett's views are widely at variance with other published opinion. I myself feel he has underestimated somewhat the effect of the concentration of attack made possible by atom bombs and has overestimated their cost. A more precise evaluation of his judgment will not be possible until the United States Atomic Energy Commission publishes a long-awaited detailed report, due in June, on the effects of atom bombs. In any case Blackett's views are buttressed by a wealth of data, mainly from official sources, and seem to be borne out by current American military policy, which continues to insist on a mass army as the keystone of the armed forces.

How near right Blackett is on the effectiveness of the bomb has actually little bearing on his next thesis: that the Baruch plan imposes very real immediate disadvantages on the U. S. S. R. and offers in return, at an unspecified future date, only the scrapping of our bombs and a share in American atomic know-how, which by then may be of decidedly limited value. In the first stage of the plan, for example, the U. N. is to make a detailed survey of the world's thorium and uranium resources, developed and undeveloped. This, Blackett declares, will weaken Russia's military position by disclosing the location of its strategic industries to the United States, which can gain air access to many parts of the Soviet Union; similar information on American plants is of no real value to the Russians since they lack the bases needed to take advantage of it. Another one-sided feature of the plan is the proposal to distribute atomic-power plants throughout the world so as to maintain the strategic balance between the United States and the U. S. S. R. rather than in accordance with economic needs. This, Blackett points out, would prevent Russia from building extra atomic-power plants as a short cut to the advanced industrialization of the United States. The Russians can no more be expected to accept such arrangements, Blackett argues, than we the Soviet counter-proposal that we scrap our stockpiles of bombs, our principal counter to the Red Army, as the *first* step toward atomic control.

Blackett is especially critical of the Baruch proposal to eliminate the veto from sanctions against atomic violators. He holds that it would place the Russian economy under the thumb of the international Atomic Development Authority, a body on which the U. S. S. R. would be in a permanent minority. In the absence of a veto, he asserts, Russia could be punished as an atomic aggressor, however pacific its intentions, for building any atomic-power facilities whatever beyond those allotted to it. Elimination of the veto, moreover, in his opinion, would increase rather than decrease the hazard of a world war. He points out that the U. N. adopted the Big Five veto on the ground that sanctions would not work against a power like the United States or the U. S. S. R. and that an attempt to impose them must lead to a new war. Of course, the Charter was drawn before Hiroshima. It is sometimes held that the position is now changed, that atom bombs have made it possible for the U. N. majority to bring overwhelming force to bear against any nation whatever. Blackett insists, on the contrary, that atom bombs are no more capable of quickly coercing a recalcitrant major power than of deciding a Soviet-American conflict in a few days or weeks. Atom bombs or no, the British physicist declares, sanctions against a major power still mean world war, and the veto is still required to keep United States actions within practicable limits.

Blackett consistently overlooks the contribution of the Russians to Soviet-American misunderstanding. It is difficult to disagree, however, with his finding that the Baruch plan has been tailored, as have the Soviet counter-proposals, to fit national strategic interests. He is also right when he insists that American policy makers are aware of the plan's unacceptability and are using it as a propaganda weapon in the cold war.

He is on less solid ground when it comes to a way out of the atomic impasse. Blackett proposes that we cease regarding the atom bomb as a unique weapon, to be dealt with separately, and treat it together with the problem of the Red Army, so many bombs being scrapped for every Red Army division disbanded. This is merely another formula for general disarmament and is not unlike a proposal made by the U. S. S. R. at the U. N. General Assembly in Paris while the book was in press in England. Needless to say, the Soviet proposal failed, as all such proposals must, regardless of sponsorship, until the cold war ends, after which the finding of a satisfactory formula will be comparatively simple.

LEONARD ENGEL

Success Story

UNION GUY. By Clayton W. Fountain. The Viking Press. $2.75.

A SUBSTANTIAL portion of the American populace has been convinced by the press that labor organizers spring full-grown, armed with horns, blackjacks, and brass knuckles, from the womb of some mythical and monstrous she-devil. There is a legend in the land picturing us as a mob of muscular, cigar-

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smoking goons who grow fat and arrogant by snitching sweat-stained dues dollars out of the pockets of browbeaten workers."

Thus Brother Fountain starts his engaging book, and pity 'tis he's right. Wallowers in Westbrook Pegler's hogwash, all too many of them union members, listeners to Fulton Lewis, Jr., Henry Taylor, and Old Man Minor Prophet Kaltenborn, automatically identify union organizers with slot-mouthed racketeers. I have helped organize unions since 1912, and for every "pork-chopper" among the run of organizers I have found ten hard-working, devoted, and courageous "union guys" like the author of this book. The trick is to get an audience for such a book as "Union Guy," outside, of course, of people on our side. No one yet has turned that trick. It still takes courage for a publisher to list a book with "labor" or "union" in the title. Just why remains a mystery. Here in "Union Guy" is a swift-paced story of the crowded life of a young American worker and the important union, the United Automobile Workers (C. I. O.) which he helped to build. He gets plucked by the Communists during the depression, works himself loose without losing his democratic faith in the rank and file, joins up with Walter Reuther, Frank Winn, Emil Mazey, and the other progressives, liberals, and Socialists in the union to democratize a key organization in a movement which some day soon may dominate the American scene.

This book has suspense, conflict, plenty of it, humor, a style of its own, even a happy ending. So what more does that mythical being "the average reader" want? I hope I'm wrong, but unless the educational department of the U. A. W. or some other labor group puts a shoulder back of the book's promotion, I fear it will be passed up in favor of some case history of a schizoid written in the shape of a novel by a precocious sophomore in Bergen Junior High.

Well, "de gustibus . . ." and in the meantime we can be thankful for a contribution to labor literature comparable in many ways to the sparkling stuff which Edward Levinson, to whom Clayton Fountain dedicates his book, turned out about the early days of the C. I. O.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

Proust's Letters

THE LETTERS OF MARCEL PROUST. Translated and Edited with Notes, by Mina Curtiss. Random House. $5.

PROUST'S letters were not written for publication, and it is not his fault if only the last ones in this collection are interesting. Even these contribute very little to an understanding of his novel. In spite of the author's repeated protestations that the narrator of "A la Recherche du Temps Perdu" is not himself, it is a complete autobiography, and so very explicit, especially in the last volumes, as to be almost redundant. The letters in which he explains to this or that friend the artistic purpose of a work then still in progress only repeat the beautiful didactic passages which form such a large part of it. "Read alone or in conjunction with 'Remembrance of Things Past,' they reveal to us a man, etc., etc." So the blurb on the dust jacket. But "read alone," these letters would prevent anyone's ever turning to the novel. One can cope with mere boredom, but Proust's

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parasitism, his toadying and cowardice, his wheedling vulgarity—all the things precisely which are kept out of the novel—fill one with a vicarious embarrassment so intense as to make one wonder whether the publication of these letters was not an unconsciously sadistic act. But then, the literary acumen of the translator and editor of this collection is summed up in her preface—in translating she has "not felt shadowed by the brilliant and imaginative work of Scott Moncrieff."

There is a good deal of literary chitchat; there is an account of Gide's devious and quite hypocritical machinations for obtaining the copyright of "Temps Perdu"—which he and the other editors of the *N.R.F.* had thought a failure and refused to publish until Grasset issued the first volumes; there is Proust's own rationalized chicanery; there is a good deal about Robert de Montesquiou; there are some statements about the purpose and structure of the novel and about the special sense for perceiving the unconscious; but even this seems pretty much out of date and superficial compared to the work of Freud. On the whole, and in spite of Miss Curtiss's magnificently aseptic notes and comments, this is the most boring book I've read in years. Proust himself realized this better than anyone else. Blamed by friends for his inability to be intimate in his correspondence, he wrote: "It is true that there are people superior to their books, but that is because their books aren't *books*.

RENÉ BLANC-ROOS

Books in Brief

SWEEPER IN THE SKY. By Helen Wright. Macmillan. $4. A charming biography of Maria Mitchell (1818-89). In her later years Maria was famous as an astronomer, as first director of the Vassar College observatory, and as leader in the woman's-rights movement. But the most delightful sections of the book deal with her early life on Nantucket in the great days of whaling.

GOLD RUSH ALBUM. Edited by Joseph Henry Jackson. Scribner. $10. A handsome pictorial history of the California gold rush with hundreds of illustrations covering every phase of that picturesque episode.

Fiction in Review

IT IS with deep regret that one learns that Elizabeth Charlotte Webster, author of "Ceremony of Innocence" (Harcourt, Brace, $2.75), died shortly after the completion of her first book, and that one recommends it knowing that nothing more will follow from her pen. The regret has two sources. Miss Webster's talent is very remarkable, of a kind not easily duplicated in present-day fiction. If you can imagine a first-rate novelist of social manners—urbane, witty, a fine stylist, an acutely satiric but sympathetic observer of social behavior—who at the same time is concerned to hypothecate man's ultimate fate, you perhaps have some notion of Miss Webster's unusual gift. But in addition to wanting more of Miss Webster's work because it is so delightful and striking, one wants a possible further clue to the meaning of the present novel.

To read "Ceremony of Innocence" only for its charms of story and style is to miss its full implications. The epigraph to the book is from Yeats's "The Second Coming."

> Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
> The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
> The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
> The best lack all conviction, while the worst
> Are full of passionate intensity.
>
> Surely some revelation is at hand;
> Surely the Second Coming is at hand.

These are not, of course, the closing lines of the poem. We recall the nature of the revelation Yeats goes on to describe—"somewhere in sands of the desert/ A shape with lion body and the head of a man . . . its hour come round at last/ Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born." Miss Webster would seem to have in mind perhaps some similar terrible image of the coming revelation; but the precise nature of her vision is a bit obscure, and her future writing might have clarified it.

A South African, Miss Webster sets her novel in a South African city called Geldersburg—a raw, tense modern metropolis grown up in the very midst of the veld. On the outskirts rises a quiet Anglican convent devoted to the rescue of fallen women. There comes to the convent a novice, Sybil, who, it turns out, has supernatural powers; she can cure the sick, she is clairvoyante and clairaudiente, she can prophesy. The novice becomes pregnant, an irony scarcely to be endured in a sisterhood which salvages lost females ("When you fell, you fell; there was no sliding scale"). It is not a virgin conception: Sybil's innocence is a purity within rather than without sex. The girl is firm in the knowledge that the birth she awaits is the birth of the new Christ.

Up to this point Miss Webster's satire of a weary church is not only wise and skilful but wonderfully refined, in the literal sense of the word. In comparison, indeed, the satiric-religious novels of, say, Evelyn Waugh and Aldous Huxley seem gross and importunate. It is the dénouement of the story, the scene in which Sybil describes the role of the son she is about to bear, which pulls one up sharply from a mere relaxed enjoyment of a happy irreverence. "I bring now into the world," the novice announces to the shocked clerics of Geldersburg, "a child who will one day help to liberate mankind. . . . The world will mock him, will call him 'madman.' And then . . . having cut himself off from all men, to fashion a machine that will bridge the gulf twixt this sphere and the next, he will one day accomplish what he set out to do. . . . People will learn that the dead live. They will embrace each other, shout 'There is no death.'" The scene concludes: "My mission is to bring confusion upon the church—confusion and destruction."

We understand of course that the church cannot exist without the idea of death; that to unite the spheres of the living and the not-living in any way but by faith is to require a whole new concept of the spirit. But this limited interpretation of Sybil's prophecy fails to take into account the fact that the revelation is to come by means of a *machine* connecting the spheres; and we recall that there has been an earlier scene in which Sybil ascribes her supernatural powers to the geological formations of the African coast. Either, then, Miss Webster must be accused of the facile materialistic assumption of spiritualism, or she is guilty of another kind of vulgar materialism—the belief in science

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as the new God. And in either event she quite devalues, even mocks, Yeats's tragic premonition. But this may be exactly what she intended to do: after all, her ceremony of innocence, far from being "drowned," is triumphant.

I am not sure of Miss Webster's meaning. It is the compliment due her novel, however, that I came finally to read it this closely, searching out the intention in its text as one might study the text of a poem. And that an apparently "light" novel should command this kind of serious attention constitutes, I think, a bit of a literary miracle. Shortly after publication, "Ceremony of Innocence" was awarded an important South African prize. I wonder if the judges knew just what, besides a charming talent, they might be rewarding.

It is scarcely fair to Jerome Weidman to have read, and need to comment on, his newest novel, "The Price Is Right" (Harcourt, Brace, $3), just after Miss Webster's book. The transition from the one quality of feeling to the other is almost too melodramatic. There was a time, in his first novels, when Mr. Weidman had his own real, if circumscribed, vision of truth, when to accuse him of being too disagreeable—it was what the critics were always saying—was to hold him responsible for a world he never made but simply reported accurately and even with the affection of honesty. But neither the good nor the bad characters in "The Price Is Right" are the responsibility of anyone *except* their author, for they are not true; they merely talk and act as a certain section of society—the fellow-travelers of literary seriousness—likes to suppose people of their sort talk and act. Mr. Weidman has become one of the "wise boys" of fiction who know the moral price of everything and the moral value of nothing. His present book is the story of a young advertising man who learns that selfishness and disloyalty in business do not pay. It is a bore as well as another long sure step away from Mr. Weidman's admirable beginnings as a novelist.

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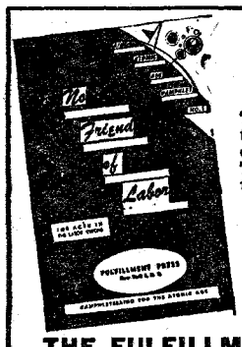

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

FOR the revival of any play from the recent past there is a standard review which consists in saying: (a) that the piece is "dated"; (b) that it moves too slowly; and (c) that the performance is not as good as the original one. Most of my colleagues trotted out this ready-made discourse for "They Knew What They Wanted" (Music Box), but on this occasion it seems to me almost entirely inappropriate. I confess that I reviewed the play on its first appearance in 1924, and it may therefore be suggested that I am too "dated" myself to know whether it is "dated" or not, but I should like to argue—in reverse order—all three of the points raised.

As to the performance, it is true that Pauline Lord, Richard Bennett, and Glenn Anders constituted in 1924 an almost perfect team. But it is equally true that Paula Stone, Paul Muni, and Edward Andrews are fully good enough to bring out the principal values in a play which is still compassionate and moving enough to be one of the two or three things most worth seeing on Broadway. Mr. Muni does not have the relaxed ease which made Richard Bennett's performance so delightfully convincing. Perhaps there is just a little too much conscious art in the process which transforms him into an Italian wine grower, and perhaps he rather overdoes the piling up of bits of characteristic "business." But his is a remarkable performance nevertheless, and if Edward Andrews does not get as much individuality into the part of the young wobblie as Glenn Anders did, he at least makes him believable. Miss Stone is, to my mind, the best of the three. She seems a good deal younger than Pauline Lord did, and she makes Amy somewhat less tragic, for Miss Lord in all her parts exploited something in her own personality which managed to suggest a tragic past. But I should hesitate to say that Miss Lord was any more believable than Miss Stone. It is a difficult part, and Miss Stone shows herself to be a finer performer than any except those who saw her some years ago in "Dark of the Moon" are likely to have realized before now.

As to the charge that the play "moves too slowly," I can only say that I was totally unaware of the alleged fact, and I suspect that the question whether or not it is "dated" is the really significant one. Like most works of fiction which are both highly successful and to some extent substantial, "They Knew What They Wanted" had its timely as well as its more durably interesting aspects, and in the present case it is not difficult to separate them.

In 1924 most spectators, including the present writer, probably saw it as, first of all, a comment on what we were then proud to call "our changing morals." The heroine becomes pregnant with an illegitimate child on the very night following her marriage of convenience to a man much older than herself, and the situation is very ingeniously constructed to demonstrate how an essentially decent young woman might have got herself into so shocking a mess. What is—or was—even more startling is the conclusion, in which the husband comes to accept the situation and the three persons concerned get what they wanted because they are all sensible enough to know what it was, to face the situation honestly, and to reject their first passionate reactions. Under this aspect the play is a "fable for moderns"—of the nineteen twenties.

But the author himself, in a statement printed at the head of the program of the present production, pointed out that his fable was borrowed from the story of Tristan and Isolde, and

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one can hardly reject that story as "dated." At the present moment it is fashionable to talk about "myth" as the only enduring and the only really significant element in any literary work. What simpler example of the most elementary meaning of this contention could one find than the present play? At its core is a story which has always been interesting and which will remain so as long as human beings remain recognizably what they have been since the earliest were told. The author took that story, gave it a local habitation, and dressed it in the sentiments and the language of his time. To most spectators it seemed almost shockingly modern rather than ancient, and most of them probably believed that what interested them most was its "modern" and paradoxical lesson. But its real hold upon their interest was always the thing which they never suspected—a myth embodying a fundamental human situation.

Sidney Howard was an intelligent, sensible, and able man rather than a writer of genius. "They Knew What They Wanted," though probably his best play, is sound, sturdy, and engaging rather than great. But it will be a pity if present-day spectators deprive themselves of an opportunity to enjoy a really admirable play just because they are nervously anxious to demonstrate that they, at least, are not dated.

Films

ANTHONY BOWER

RAYMOND RADIGUET died in Paris in 1922 at the age of twenty. He was already the author of several poems and of two novels of considerable distinction, "Le Bal du Comte d'Orgel" and "Le Diable au Corps." A screen version of the second book is now to be seen at the Paris Theater under the literally translated but rather crude-sounding title of "Devil in the Flesh." The apocryphal stories concerning the writing of "Le Diable au Corps" are many, but whether it was written single-handed by Radiguet at the age of seventeen or whether Jean Cocteau or someone else helped to put the prose into readable shape is a matter of comparative indifference: the essential act of creation was certainly Radiguet's alone in that it was he who lived through and understood the experience so vividly described in the book. The story is, in fact, undisguisedly autobiographical—an account of an adolescent love affair told with such passion and real romantic feeling that it is, in my opinion, the definitive work on that difficult subject. How such a very moving book could have been written at such an early age can probably be explained by contending that adolescent love can only be described properly at the moment of experience and that once understood—in the philosophic, analytic sense—it ceases to exist except on the half-joke or aberrational level. But whatever the reasons, Radiguet has been uniquely successful in catching the essence of a lovely and fleeting experience in much the same way as a painter can occasionally catch a fugitive light.

Jean Auranche and Pierre Bost, who wrote the screen play of "Devil in the Flesh," Claude Autant Lara, who directed it, and Gerard Philipe and Micheline Presle, who play the leading roles, are to be congratulated on giving the film an atmosphere identical with that of the book—passionately romantic, even erotic, and at the same time pellucid and innocent. The camera is unobtrusive; the setting—a small village on the Marne, a restaurant, and Harry's Bar in Paris during the First World War—is exactly right; the only note of overemphasis, and it is slight, is a tendency to distort and exaggerate the minor characters to the point of absurdity for the sake of a laugh or two.

The story is not only delicate but "delicate," and it has been handled by all concerned with masterly tact and good taste—which doubtless accounts for our being able to see the film in a virtually uncut version. According to the code of American movie morals, unsanctified love only takes place to the mutual and immediate discomfiture of the erring parties, but here we are shown the consuming and consummated passion of a boy of seventeen for an older woman married to a soldier away at the front. The lovers live together openly, sometimes they are even happy, we are shown very intimate details of their lives—and it is a very happy thought that whoever is responsible for what we do or do not see on the screen

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in New York is so well able to distinguish between art and pornography.

The film could never have been completely successful, however, if the leading roles had not been played to perfection. Gerard Philipe and Micheline Presle are ideally cast. Philipe has been seen on the screen once before in this country, as Prince Muishkine in "The Idiot." In that film he gave an indication of what a really fine actor he is, but here he is little short of superb in his ability to make fully understandable the emotions of a half-man half-boy who does not understand them himself; Micheline Presle has a less exacting part, but she is as lovely and charming and touching as she should be; and the two of them manage to suggest with complete conviction that it is not only inevitable but right that they should be in love.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

AMONG the poor recordings issued on standard (78 r.p.m.) records by Columbia in the past eight or nine years the most heart-breaking have been those of the performances of the Budapest Quartet. I have therefore listened to the new LP "dubbings" of some of them that Columbia has made from the original ("safety") masters: the ones of Beethoven's Quartets Opus 18 Nos. 1, 4, and 6, Opus 95, Opus 131, Opus 132, Haydn's Opus 74 No. 3, Mozart's Quintet K. 515 and Piano Quartets K. 478 and 493, Debussy's Quartet. And I am happy to be able to report that while they don't have the warmth and luster of the earlier RCA Victor Budapest Quartet recordings and are not flawless, most of them sound clear, bright, and natural—in other words without the falsifying distortion, harshness, dulness, and other major defects of the old standard shellac dubbings from the same masters. The two exceptions are the new versions of Mozart's Piano Quartets: in K. 478 the sound is unresonant, the piano dull, the violin shrill; in K. 493 the sound is only a little more resonant, the piano a little less dull. Played on the Columbia LP player all the recordings lack sufficient bass, which one has to be able to supply by means of bass-compensation from the amplifier; and even with such compensation the bass is weak in the Opus 131 and the Debussy. Also, in the bits of Opus 18 No. 1 and Opus 132 and K. 478 that I tried there was occasional distortion from poor tracking—which there may not be with another LP pickup.

I have also listened to the new LP dubbing of the Bruno Walter-New York Philharmonic recording of Schubert's Symphony No. 9 and found that it has the brightness and bass that the standard dubbing lacked, but is a little compressed and strident. The LP dubbing of the recent Ormandy-Philadelphia Orchestra recording of Haydn's Symphony No. 88 doesn't have the boomy bass of the standard dubbing, but is too sharp in fortissimo. The LP dubbing of the recent Szell-Cleveland Orchestra recording of Mozart's K. 543 is brighter and more lustrous than the standard dubbing and has more bass but still not enough. The LP dubbing of the Casadesus recording of Chopin's Sonata Opus 35 is shallow in sound and as unclear in texture as the standard dubbing.

The Mozart and Haydn symphonies are on the two sides of one 12-inch LP record—as are the Haydn quartet and Beethoven's Opus 18 No. 4, and Beethoven's Opus 95 and Opus 18 No. 6. This seems to me a highly objectionable way of putting short works on the LP records—as objectionable as putting Berlioz's "Royal Hunt and Storm" and Borodin's "Prince Igor" Overture into one album of standard records. There should be no more than one symphony or quartet on one LP record; and the way to achieve that with a work like a Haydn or Mozart symphony or quartet is to put it on the two sides of a 10-incher, as was done with the Chopin sonata, or on one side of a 12-incher.

For the rest, here is a report on several English Decca orchestral recordings. First, Mozart's Symphony K. 504 ("Prague"), in a clear, straightforward performance by Ansermet and L'Orchestre de la Suisse romande, its recorded sound good but without brilliance, and one side of my copy wavering in pitch (ED-91, $7.35). Then Beethoven's "Pastoral" Symphony, performed by Kleiber and the London Philharmonic—the second and last movements too slow, the record sound good (ED-95, $11.55). Next Schumann's Symphony No. 4, with its lovely inner movements, in an erratically paced performance by Münch and the London Philharmonic, its recorded sound rich and spacious, but with very heavy bass and edged violins, and over-cut climaxes that produce poor tracking and distortion (ED-61, $7). Next the charming Scarlatti-Tommasini music from the ballet "The Good-Humored Ladies," in a heavy-handed performance by Malcolm Sargent with the London Symphony, its recorded sound brilliant but with heavy bass (ED-92, $5.25). Then Brahms's Concerto for violin and cello, its ponderousness increased by Schuricht's pacing of the performance by L'Orchestre de la Suisse romande with Kulenkampff and Mainardi—the latter playing with rather dry cello tone and labored style, the former with more engaging violin tone and fluid style, and the recorded sound being good (ED-94, $9.45). And finally Debussy's Petite Suite, in the sugary idiom of his early pieces, in a superb performance by Ansermet and the Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra that is superbly recorded, though with heavy bass (ED-98, $5.25).

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Letters to the Editors

You Can't Say That!

Dear Sirs: I am a minister living close to the small city of Gardner, Massachusetts. Ten days ago with a number of other ministers in and near Gardner I was invited to take part in a forum of the air on radio station WHOB of that city. The subject was How Do the American People View the Religious Persecutions in Europe? The principal occasion for the topic was, of course, the celebrated case of Cardinal Mindszenty.

In the course of the discussion I undertook to present some of the political stands taken by the Cardinal, drawing upon Ruth Karpf's article in *The Nation* for January 8. I was immediately checked by the chairman, another minister, who along with the rest of us had been instructed by the station to avoid any statement that might make trouble. Gardner has a very large Roman Catholic group, and the station fears it.

About the same time I wrote a letter to the Gardner *News*, the only daily paper in Gardner, embodying some of Ruth Karpf's report. The editor refused to print it, saying it would cause too much trouble, but promised to consider a milder version. I sent him a second letter. But he refused to publish this either, stating the paper had decided to print no further communications on the subject.

How much freedom of expression is there in America?

EDWIN E. AIKEN, JR.

Baldwinville, Mass., February 26

Mr. Werth's Equanimity

Dear Sirs: After a three months' stay in Prague Alexander Werth is able to assure us (in *The Nation*, February 19), that his "heart is not broken" by what he has seen and that, moreover, the new Czechoslovakian regime has "impressed" a good part of the Czechoslovakian people. Disarmingly employing a familiar tactic designed to prove his fairness and objectivity, Mr. Werth does confess that "Czechoslovakia today has some extremely unpleasant aspects." He lists the expropriation of thousands of business and professional people, the purging of many artists and writers, the expulsion because of their political opinions of at least 5,000 students, imprisonment for contact with foreigners, the creation of labor camps for uncooperative elements in the population. Mr. Werth's equanimity in the face of these typical conditions of dictatorship leads one to wonder how much evidence of repression he needs before he can feel some degree of revulsion. Were it a nascent Hitlerism which was on trial, were these "unpleasantnesses" the unpleasantnesses of Nazism, would Mr. Werth's emotions remain similarly untouched?

In the same issue Freda Kirchwey writes passionately, and properly, in protest of our current loans to Franco. "For ten years," says Miss Kirchwey, "the Spanish people have suffered under a fascist rule planted on their necks with the acquiescence of the Western democracies." She appeals to Americans to voice their disapproval of our State Department's policy toward Spain, and ends her editorial: "We want no creeping rehabilitation of the Spanish dictator." Quite right. But what about *The Nation's* consistently implied—I cannot bring myself to use the word "creeping"—support of the Moscow dictatorship?

That *The Nation* is entirely liberal in the sense that it permits political opinions wholly opposed to those of its editorial pages to appear in its book reviews, this writer can unequivocally affirm. But surely a meaningful liberalism demands at this time more than this limited allegiance to the concept of free speech. It also requires something far more difficult to achieve and desperately needed in this day of political confusion—a clearly defined, logically pursued position in regard to all abrogations of democratic freedom, whether under Communist dictatorship or under fascist dictatorship.

DIANA TRILLING

New York, February 25

Mr. Werth's Subtlety

Dear Sirs: Alexander Werth's Brave New World in Czechoslovakia is probably one of the most embarrassing and ignoble apologias for the wave of the future your magazine has ever printed....

There was a time, too, that the youth of Germany were "impressed" by their new state, excited by the revolution Hitler was working in their country, and "interested" in Germany's next stage. (Unlike Czechoslovakia, Germany did happen to be in pretty bad shape at the time.) And there were writers telling us then, too, that the new Germany was here to stay, and "the sooner the West faces it, the better."

Or is this Mr. Werth's sly way of telling us that a once great democracy is now a grim-faced and embittered stepchild of the new terrorism?

WALTER H. WAGGONER

Washington, February 25

[Perhaps it is.—EDITORS THE NATION]

Progressive Forces in the New Japan

Dear Sirs: Your editorial comment of December 18 and the review in the same issue by Dr. Peffer of Mark Gayn's book, both dealing with Japan, provoke me to suggest that we should not be content with the sour notes of the journalists who always start with the assumption that MacArthur must be wrong. In effect, and too often, their criticism gives aid and comfort to the Stalinist forces in Japan which with radio propaganda, lavish distribution of literature, and numerous personnel are exploiting for ulterior purposes the legitimate grievances of the Japanese workers. (Some of Gayn's criticisms are justified because liberals in 1947-48 bowed to reaction there as here, and the more recent resuscitated Japanese spy reports suggest the aberrations of a jittery military mind, which, however, has recovered enough to acknowledge its error.)

The official complacency in the reports of the State Department and the publicity of the American business representatives, who find it easy to renew their old-time connections with the Zaibatsu firms, should not obscure the new progressive elements in post-war Japan which need support. For example, the trade unions, under the inspiration of the State Department directives to SCAP, issued while the Wagner act operated in the United States, attained a membership of over six million. SCAP officials who were influenced by Taft-Hartley must also be aware of its probable repeal.

American trade unionists should give the free trade unions of Japan the help and support which they deserve.

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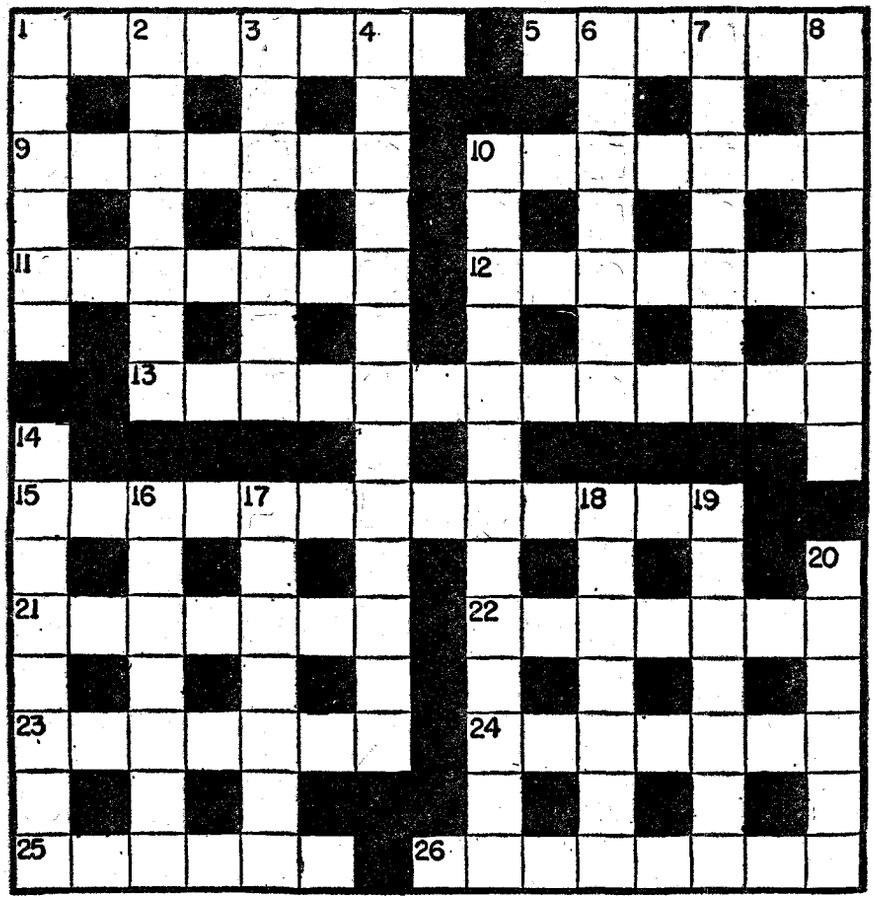
Crossword Puzzle No. 304

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 An animal with a row of teeth beneath the surface. (8)
5 Gentlemen do this to the light, reputedly. (6)
9 Did this city rise from the flames. (7)
10 Find these round on the roof. (7)
11 See 2 down.
12 Alternatively, I head no small company in South America. (7)
13 This sort of Red threatened to be. (13)
15 It's broke when financial. (13)
21 At the end of an elegy. (7)
22 A collection of leaves in white. (7)
23 If this were heavier, it probably wouldn't be tender. (7)
24 Pearl in a southern cake, perhaps. (7)
25 The Great American is in the west. (6)
26 No charge for wine at such a place? (4, 4)

DOWN

1 Decapitated snake? (6)
2 One of Browning's things which were of 11, when home. (7)
3 The excited can't do it reflexively. (7)
4 To hamper, perhaps? (5, 8)
6 One sort of caliper is about the same as another. (7)
7 Not only thieves do, in the army. (4, 3)
8 Answers, or spends the change. (8)
10 Perhaps, but only nudists do anything about it! (7, 6)
14 In a word, insurgents did; in two, they were. (8)
16 These facilitate exchanges between banks. (7)
17 Agent who lives off the land? (7)
18 Logical successor to an "L" bracket? (7)
19 Sort of topic one finds about the morning in Mexico. (7)
20 Dress, and keep watch here? (6)

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 303

ACROSS:—1 WAGE SCALE; 6 DWARF; 9 RADICAL; 10 TRACTOR; 11 SOD; 12 NEGATE; 13 LOST; 15 PANTHERS; 16 SHASTA; 18 LAMENT; 20 STARGAZE; 23 NARY; 24 BO-PEEP; 25 OAR; 28 USURPER; 29 EARMARK; 30 NESTS; 31 HOLLYWOOD.

DOWN:—1 WORDS; 2 GADSDEN; 3 SECOND-HAND; 4 ALLEGORY; 6 DIAL; 7 ACTIONS; 8 FIRST-RATE; 14 THIRD PARTY; 15 PALANQUIN; 17 ETHEREAL; 19 MARQUIS; 21 AVOCADO; 22 and 5 FOURTH ESTATE; 26 RAKED; 27 OPUS.

Murphy, Killen, Townsend, Baldwin, Romer, Deverall, Doughty, and, most recently, Assistant Secretary of Labor Gibson are among the trade unionists and advocates of civil liberties who have seen at first hand the work of the trade unions. My own six weeks' visit to Japan in 1946 led to direct union contacts which convince me that there are many progressive elements among the trade unions, cooperatives, and Socialists there. There should be further exchange of delegations as well as permanent consultant service to help the Japanese unions play their important role in the New Japan. The reintroduction of "free enterprise" in Japan will be dangerous if the mother companies of the United States return to menace the social gains made in that country in the first years of SCAP. The Social Democratic members of the Japanese Diet rightly insist that the British and the Scandinavian approach by way of democratic collectivism is more akin to their needs than an insistence upon either "free enterprise" or a revival of the Zaibatsu. Many of the basic services and industries of Japan are already nationalized, and that of course was the difficulty when SCAP prohibited any strikes in government services. This insistence led to the resignation of James S. Killen, who forecast the Communist election gains, and who explained his attitude and received the support of the Cincinnati convention of the A. F. of L.

Other forces which need encouragement are those purging education of its old surviving elements of Mikado worship and those giving women new opportunities, both economic and political. Here the educational agencies and the women's organizations of the United States should lend a hand, and the State Department at Washington should be at pains to assist in exchange of delegations. Interchanges should not only be on a professional or a church-missionary level. They should include non-academic groups and organizations in order to be helpful in the immediate present. Independent observers from the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. and Railroad Brotherhoods, with full freedom for travel, inspection, and report, should be sent by the State Department in conjunction with our Department of Labor. Representatives of the American Management Association and—most importantly for Japan—representatives of farmers' and consumers' cooperatives are required.

We should recognize, as Eisenhower

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does, that military occupation cannot suppress justifiable resentment against exploitation and that no military police can arrest ideas. The problems of inflation, food supply, rebuilding of cities, markets, and surplus population are complicated and difficult, and the United States cannot permanently continue the cost of occupation. Japan cannot be used merely as an anti-Soviet bastion. The descendants of Jefferson and Lincoln make poor pukka sahibs. The progressive forces of the United States have a unique responsibility in the development of the new Japan to aid progressive forces there. No nation can free another, but the United States can play the part of a wise teacher in helping the new Japan to grow, recognizing that a wise teacher plans to make himself expendable.

MARK STARR

New York, February 21

Government by Kilowatt

Dear Sirs: The Facts on Franchise Committee of Boulder wishes to thank you for the attention your magazine paid, in its issue of February 12, to our struggle with the Public Service Company. We lost the first round on February 21 by a three-to-five vote. But in Denver in 1947 the vote favoring the same company was more than eight to one. So we feel we secured a measured victory. The district manager, Frank Henderson, conceded as much over the radio. Before the election, he was said to expect returns between five and ten to one.

We learned a few things from the campaign: (1) Our city manager has taken his position with the company. When the votes were being counted at city hall, for example, he sat with and rejoiced with company officials. (2) Our City Council—since it stands eight to one for the company—does not represent the electorate. (3) The company does not play fair in these elections, to put it mildly. It paid its employees time and a half for house-to-house propaganda, which is specifically unlawful by the terms of our city charter. Calling its employees together in meetings, spokesmen declared the issue to be municipal ownership, warning them that a "no" vote meant immediate loss of jobs. (Such was not the case in Denver in 1925, when "no" won.) Worst of all, it tied the name "communism" to the opposition in a whispering campaign. Actually the issue in Boulder is this. Is the town to be democratically governed or company governed?

ANITA MARBURG

Boulder, Col., February 25

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Statement of Purpose

by The Committee for Free Political Advocacy

Free speech, free press, free assembly and free petition, as guaranteed by the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution, have no meaning if they apply only to political friends. The test of these guarantees is the application to political antagonists in times of controversy, and to the defense of persons who disagree.

This is the interpretation of free speech applied by Voltaire, Jefferson and Lincoln, and embodied in our Bill of Rights as the most sacred political guarantee of free democracy.

In this light, the present indictment in New York City, by the Federal Government, of twelve communist leaders for political advocacy of a domestically unpopular doctrine is a most shocking exercise of state power. The indictments in these cases allege no overt act whatever, except "teaching and advocating" the principles of "Marxism-Leninism." The indictments allege no "clear and present danger" to bring the action within the Schenck case (Schenck v U. S. 1919, 299 U. S. 47).

If such advocacy is declared a crime, political change in a democracy may become impossible.

Such a decision would, in fact, outlaw the Communist Party and other left-wing groups in the United States, in a manner hardly to be distinguished from the outlawing of the Communist Party by Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. At a time when our country aspires to world democratic leadership, such action is hardly designed to incur the respect and admiration of the democratic world.

So far this attack on free speech has been obscured and presented as an attack on the Communist Party. Such is not the case. The Communist Party is on trial only so far as free speech itself is on trial, and the entire proceeding represents a total distortion of government function, as conceived and limited in the United States for 159 years.

As the American Civil Liberties Union stated in its brief filed in behalf of the accused: "*. . . We take the position that the statute is unconstitutional on its face because it punishes mere advocacy*" and "*. . . We maintain, therefore, that since this statute . . . does not make the distinction between advocacy and incitement, it violates the First Amendment . . .*"

The undersigned, therefore urge that you join us in an appeal to the Attorney General to suspend these political prosecutions. It is our view that the Attorney General should reserve his energies for cases where his activities may preserve, rather than destroy, the political liberty which comprises our most priceless political possession. Certainly, in view of its sweeping terms, a test case of the constitutionality of the Smith Act should be brought before it is used to outlaw a political party.

The Committee for Free Political Advocacy

Suite 824, 11 West 42nd St., New York 18

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